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SECONDARY EDUCATION

FOR YOUTH IN MODERN AMERICA

HARL R. DOUGLASS

Secondary Education
for
Youth in Modern America

Secondary Education *for* Youth in Modern America

By
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A Report
to the
American Youth Commission
of the
American Council on Education

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FOREWORD

THE American Youth Commission was organized in September, 1935, by the American Council on Education, a non-governmental group that had spent more than a year considering possible means of studying the problems of youth. Sixteen men and women were selected for membership on the Commission, and were asked by the Council to:

- (a) consider all the needs of American youth and appraise the facilities and resources for serving these needs;
- (b) recommend eventually some procedures and programs which seem to be most effective in solving the problems of youth; and finally to
- (c) popularize and promote desirable plans of action through conferences, publications, and demonstrations.

The membership of the Commission follows:

Newton D. Baker, Cleveland, *Chairman*

Owen D. Young, New York City, *Vice-Chairman*

Miriam Van Waters, Framingham, Mass., *Secretary*

Will W. Alexander, Atlanta, Washington

Ralph Budd, Chicago

Lotus D. Coffman, Minneapolis

Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Arlington, Vt.

Willard E. Givens, Washington

Henry I. Harriman, Boston

Robert M. Hutchins, Chicago

George Johnson, Washington

Chester H. Rowell, San Francisco

William F. Russell, New York City

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Mrs. Edgar B. Stern, New Orleans
John W. Stoddaker, Washington
Matthew Woll, New York City

Dr. George F. Zook, President of the Council, under whose leadership the Commission was formed, and Dr. C. S. Marsh, Vice-President, act in an advisory capacity.

Secondary Education for Youth in Modern America is a report to the Commission. While the Commission may be in sympathy with most of the suggestions herein, the report does not necessarily reflect the policy nor the opinions of the individual members. Nevertheless, the Commission believes that the information and suggestions presented by Professor Douglass should be made available to the public.

The Commission is grateful to the author for his work in preparing the report and to M. M. Chambers for assistance in gathering some of the statistical information, Arthur L. Brandon for help in the production of the book, and C. Coleridge Ertz and Mrs. George H. Hollister for editorial aid.

HOMER P. RAINEY
Director

PREFACE

THE aim of education is to affect beneficially the activities of life for which youth is educated. The approach, therefore, to a philosophy of secondary education must be on the basis of the relationship of the schools to the rest of society. Changes in social conditions and institutions necessarily affect the details of educational objectives, so these issues must be met with a knowledge also of the attitudes of youth, his problems and his capacities.

It has therefore seemed advantageous to prepare a résumé of what appear to be the more important facts and trends in these fields, thereby giving both meaning and support to a statement of the philosophy which seems most practical and effective in the light of our times and ideals. The major implications of that philosophy will be outlined with particular reference to the more promising means of implementing it.

This book does not assume professional training in education on the part of its readers. In the interest of brevity it avoids the specific and deals solely with a few generalizations which may be made to apply to various problems and particular cases. No one plan for the reorganization of the schools is suggested, but many adjustments may come from the procedures here presented. No one type of school is designated, but the plans tend to fall into types, such as part-time or cooperative secondary education, "life school" plans similar to the Civilian Conservation Corps idea, informal voluntary schools for older youth such as the Danish "Folk" or the "People's" high schools, types of junior colleges such as the Michigan and Chicago emergency or youth schools, and vocational schools of

junior college level such as those in the State of New York. The merits of the schools as well as of the types can be evaluated only in terms of generalized criteria or basic premises as used in this book to describe the philosophy of education.

The program of secondary education given here is not one upon which all experts in that field are agreed. It has cut loose from certain traditional views and practices, but it does not follow those variations from present views and practices which seem to offer only variety.

The author owes a heavy debt to authorities and investigators. In addition, he has had suggestions and ideas from many able men and women prominent in the field of education. The bulk of the statements to follow are therefore neither original nor merely speculative. To facilitate reading, the sources of his information have been omitted.

The reader should bear in mind that it has not been the writer's intention to prepare an original contribution, an involved technical or exhaustive treatise, or a popular volume, but to present to the American Youth Commission and to whomever they may recommend it, (1) a simple, concise statement of the major influences and conditions which must give direction to a re-adjustment of secondary education, and (2) an outline of attractive, concrete possibilities for experimentation, study, and demonstration.

HARL R. DOUGLASS

University of Minnesota
April 10, 1937

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I

INTRODUCTION— BASIC THEORY AND DEFINITIONS

THE most significant fact concerning human beings is that each individual, from birth to death, is subject to never ceasing change—physical and chemical, spiritual and mental. His bones and arteries change, his skin changes, all his organs undergo transformation. Mentally, his ideas and concepts alter and the levels of his specific abilities rise and fall.

Of great significance in this regard, therefore, is the fact that within limits the direction and nature of such change, particularly on the intellectual and spiritual side, may be controlled. Because human beings are peculiarly susceptible to environment, we have schools, churches, advertising, salesmen and other agencies, all for the purpose of controlling mental experience and influencing feeling and behavior.

It is the fact that human conduct can be so largely predetermined that gives meaning to education and stresses its potentialities. The school is one of the agencies developed for the purpose of controlling human behavior. Its *modus operandi* consists entirely in the selection or influencing of the experiences of those who attend it. Its aim is to produce in them habits, skills, knowledge, concepts and ideals deemed to be desirable. As these types of products arise from the experience of the individual, formal education then is the provision of special experiences for special purposes. This distinguishes it from informal education which is the influence upon future behavior of experience

arising incidentally from the normal and natural activities of life. The school, in brief, may be thought of as providing a somewhat artificial short cut to educational objectives.

The program of education should be planned in the light of these objectives. With the view of giving an individual the ability to perform effectively certain vocational processes, read certain types of literature, follow certain social conventions, properly employ his leisure time, or correctly discharge his responsibilities as father, mother, or citizen, education should attempt to give that individual the experiences which will result in the acquisition of information, habits, skills, interests, tastes, and prejudices most likely to ensure the desired behavior. The printed materials or other stimuli necessary for the accomplishment of these ends constitute the subject matter of education. Not only books, references, lectures, laboratory or shop experiments, but the radio, slides and films, excursions and work experience may be used as stimuli to experience. Those responsible for the control of education who think of materials of education as no more than teachers, lectures and planned books are woefully lacking in perspective.

THE NATURE OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

A terminology has developed to identify certain areas, divisions, or types of education. Thus we have the terms—elementary, secondary, and higher education. While these are useful, they are difficult to define, for none has the same meaning to all individuals, even to all professional educators. In the United States they denote a sequence of somewhat different types of education and educational institutions. In most other countries the element of sequence is less prominent. In Germany, for example, elementary education, involving eight years, be-

gins at the age of six, while secondary education is begun at the age of nine or ten and therefrom parallels elementary education. Similarly, the first two years of so-called higher education in the United States correspond to the highest two years of secondary education as known in the more advanced European countries.

Attempts have been made to distinguish secondary from elementary education on various bases including the chronological and the physiological age of the pupils, the nature and functions of the subjects taught, and the training and assignment of the teacher. Even on these bases there is no agreement on the delimitations of secondary education. Thus to some, secondary education means the schooling of children from ages 14 to 18, to others it means the schooling of those from 12 to 20. It has also been defined as the education of adolescents, though adolescence is not a sharply defined period in the life of any person, and under no arrangement would all or nearly all children arrive at adolescence at any given age or period in their school career.

On the basis of subjects taught, elementary education is thought of as the period in which the tools or fundamentals of learning are taught, which in secondary education are utilized in exploring the fields of knowledge while at the same time further tools for higher education are acquired. Higher education is thought of as technological and professional training or advanced and specialized study in the field of liberal arts, science and letters. The crudeness of these distinctions must be obvious, and the inconsistency with the details of practice apparent.

In some minds secondary education means that part of the educational system in which the teachers are college trained and are assigned on the basis of specialized subject

matter, while elementary education connotes teachers trained at normal schools or teachers' colleges, assigned on the basis of a grade or year level of the school to teach a number of subjects.

In most European countries the distinctions are of still another nature. Secondary education is thought of as a step to higher education and therefore a period for the study of foreign languages, mathematics and science, and also as a type of education particularly appropriate to the upper social classes and therefore selective, while elementary education is looked upon as a finishing education, giving, with the possible exception of some vocational training, all the formal schooling those receiving it will get.

In spite of the difference of opinion as to what constitutes secondary education, it has certain characteristics upon which there is considerable agreement, and certain definite alternatives, each of which possesses some degree of precision. No informed person, for example, would classify a child in the third grade or a student in a medical school as a secondary school pupil, nor would an alien studying for citizenship be so classified. On the other hand, there is no agreement upon the proper classification of the eighth grade of an "elementary school" in which a junior high school curriculum is taught by college graduates assigned on a departmental basis. Likewise, to speak of a secondary school as a preparatory school arouses a protest on the part of many secondary school people who realize that preparation for college is but a small part of a complete program of secondary education.

Impossible as it is to formulate a definite description of secondary education, by common consent it can be said that: *Secondary education is that period in which the emphasis is shifted from the study of the simpler tools of*

learning and literacy to the use of these tools in acquiring knowledge, interests, skills, and appreciations in the various major fields of human life and thought. It corresponds roughly to the period of puberty and adolescence and to the ages of from eleven, twelve, or thirteen to nineteen, twenty, or twenty-one. While serving mainly as an effective institution for the education of the great mass of children and youth, it is also an agency in the selection and training of leaders in all walks of life, preparing them for advanced training.

THE SCHOOL AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION

Formal education may be regarded from two points of view. One deals with the relation of the school to society and the other with the relation of the school to the individual being educated. From the first point of view the school may be thought of as an institution existing primarily for social purposes, its aims and objects to be justified in terms of benefits to all society, with especial reference to its contributions to the success of group undertakings and objectives. If the individual educated is personally benefited over and above the advantages accruing to him as a member of society it is incidental.

From the other point of view, the school is an institution designed primarily to benefit the individual. If society also gains, that is incidental.

Many people are inconsistent and confuse these two considerations. On the one hand they assume that the school is a social enterprise deserving financial support from all society, including individuals not in school and therefore deriving no personal benefits. On the other hand, in considering the program of the school their thinking shifts to the individualistic. They evaluate methods and

materials in terms of the probable contribution to the interests of those being educated, and the school thus loses its social character.

Public schools appeal to many by virtue of the economy inherent in mass or group enterprise. By pooling expenditures for education and establishing schools for large groups of children who may be instructed in classes the cost per child-year of education is reduced, the quality and variety of offerings may be improved, or both these advantages may be realized. For these people the school is not a social institution, but rather a socialistic or cooperative enterprise.

There is some question whether or not public education and the private and denominational schooling should be thought of as different types of undertakings, each with objectives peculiar to its basis of control and support. The public school by reason of the sources of its establishment and maintenance is largely an agency for the furtherance of social objectives—a contributor to the general social interest.

The history of the American public school, including the high school, supports this view. Prominent men throughout the 18th and 19th centuries gave evidence in their writings that they considered public schools necessary and fundamental to the interests of a democratic government and an economic society. Samuel Knox, Pierre du Pont, Benjamin Rush, Noah Webster, Nathaniel Chipman, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Daniel Webster, Thaddeus Stevens, Abraham Lincoln and many others throughout our national history voiced their belief in the necessity of public education and of the social purpose of the schools.

When the battle for free public secondary schools was

being waged during the middle decades of the 19th century the benefits accruing to society were stressed more than were the benefits to the individuals educated. On no other basis did it seem logical to propose free education at public expense, taxing all, irrespective of whether or not they had children to be educated.

Authorities on the history of education in the United States agree that the pauper school idea—public schools as charitable providers of education for those unable to pay for it—has, since the middle of the 19th century, been characteristic of but a small and decreasing minority, though it grew more vocal during the hysteria of the depression of the early 1930's.

Universal public education is imperative. Universal suffrage demands it; vocational efficiency without it would be seriously curtailed; modern social conditions conducive to crime make it more necessary than formerly; public health in an urban civilization must be founded upon it; the preservation of American homes of high standard is conditioned by it. Without it, democracy would have to be abandoned, much scientific, technological and commercial progress given up, liberties sharply restricted, and standards of living and culture lowered.

The school, then, should be thought of as a social institution established, supported and maintained by society for its own purpose. While benefiting all individuals who attend it, its primary responsibility is to the interests of society. As Dr. Suzallo, formerly president of the University of Washington, said shortly before his death, "The fruits of the educative process ought to be more public than private."* In discharging this responsibility the

* Suzallo, Henry. "A Program for Tomorrow." *The Educational Record*, American Council on Education, Washington, D.C., April, 1932.

school has a threefold function. First, it must contribute to the stability of society and its institutions. Secondly, it must concern itself with the task of insuring that the present structure and institutions function as intended and are not exploited or despoiled by individuals, groups or movements which are disloyal to the basic ideals and best interests of the American people. Thirdly, it must contribute its maximum to the intelligent evolution of society and its institutions and their gradual but constant readaptation to changing social conditions.

Our society is democratic in ideals and in forms of government. To have it remain so, its people must possess special types of information, ideals and interests. Its citizens must be intelligent in political and economic matters. In them must be inculcated those ideas and ideals favorable to democracy, to the end that they may defend, strengthen and perfect democratic institutions.

The schools cannot avoid responsibility for purposeful attempts to shape the attitudes and conclusions of youth. Avoidance of the consideration of an issue is merely negative indoctrination. Democratic philosophy must be taught in a democracy. Scientific openmindedness on all matters should be practiced, with indoctrination in favor of free speech, freedom of thought and discussion, a liberal attitude and tolerance towards all views and opinions; nevertheless the schools of a democracy must lay the basis for the most effective operation of the democratic form of life and government.

Individual vs. Social Interests. Between the interests of society and those of the individual there need be no occasion for serious conflict. Acceptance of the philosophy outlined, which recognizes the importance to society of public education, does not imply that the interests of the

individual are to be slighted. Special attention is here given to the social or national equity only because the trend of thinking and practice in public education is to focus almost entirely upon the subject of the individual and to ignore the social character and objectives of public education.

From a broad viewpoint, the welfare of the individual and the welfare of society are almost identical in our social organization. The welfare of a truly democratic society can be measured only in terms of the total gains of all individuals. Benefits must be mass benefits, passed on to all members of society as widely and as quickly as possible.

The apparent conflict arises from failure to think in terms of the total effects of education on all individuals. For example, the cost of the school is not justified if its program of education aims merely at the immediate and direct benefit of those to be educated, to be realized eventually at the expense of other, or all individuals. It is not justified if its program aims merely at preparing the individual to make money or to enjoy a personal culture, ignoring preparation for the social intelligence and cooperation which insures the maximum welfare of all. To insure that welfare all citizens should be so educated that they may maintain and improve the political and economic structure within which the individual must find his benefits. An effective program of education must provide a balance between training for individual ends and training for social objectives.

THE SUPPLEMENTARY CHARACTER OF THE SCHOOL

Education must adjust itself not only to the purposes and ideals but to the non-static conditions of American society as well. The school is not only a *social* institution but is *supplementary* to other social institutions in nature

and function. The responsibility for various educational services is shared by other agencies. Important, in their educational significance, are the home, the church, industry and commerce, the press, the radio, recreational and amusement activities, and scores of institutions of the type of the Boy Scouts, the 4-H Clubs and the Y.M. and Y.W.C.A. Society, through the agencies of government, sees fit to exercise but very loose control over the educational programs of these organizations. The school must be flexible and must make whatever adjustments the educational interests and the changes in society and social institutions demand.

The consequences and implications of this condition are easy to trace. If some other institution or agency contributes less than formerly to the objectives of education, one or more of four alternatives must follow: (1) society will suffer as the result of the deficiency, (2) some institution other than the school or institution under consideration must assume a compensatingly greater responsibility in the area affected, (3) the institutions in question will be reformed so as to provide the service, or, (4) the school will make greater contribution in that area neglected by the other institutions.

Considering an actual instance, both the home and the church now function less effectively than formerly in fostering good citizenship. If this situation can be improved, so much the better, but in the meantime the school must play an increasing part in properly developing children and youth for civic responsibility.

When other agencies and institutions begin to make greater contributions to society the schools should be aware of the change and should adapt themselves to it, thereby avoiding wasteful duplication. Services not fully

rendered by schools should be provided by other agencies, and vice versa. What the one lacks the other should furnish, following the needs of the times. It is fair to say that teachers and administrators have not kept themselves informed as to the growth or decline of the educational services of other institutions. An unfortunate provincialism has existed of which educators and teacher training institutions should become conscious.

Social conditions are constantly undergoing changes, many of which not only result in diminishing the educational contributions of institutions other than schools, but also in changing and increasing the nature of the demands upon education. For example, complex economic and political problems make mandatory careful attention to the development of an intelligent suffrage; and the development of cities, the automobile, and organized crime have increased tremendously the needs for moral education in the schools.

It should thus be clear that not only is the school to be regarded as an institution for social purposes and interests, but that it is supplementary in character and must constantly adjust itself to changes in other institutions and to conditions of society. Though the school be in function supplementary, this does not imply that its function in any direction is incidental. In developing loyal, intelligent, effective citizens its function is primary. It is supplementary in the sense that its program should be developed in the light of the educational contributions of other institutions and agencies. The primary function of the school being educative, its program must be more flexible and responsive to control than that of the home, the press, and the church, and it must be capable of fitting in with programs of other agencies.

II

THE OBJECTIVES OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

EDUCATION involves the idea of educating for the future—immediate or remote. It is not ordinarily thought of merely as an experience worth while in itself, but more as a means to an end. It is the process of training individuals in the direction deemed beneficial to them and to society as a collection of individuals. Its scope is as broad as life itself and its aims should be formulated only on the basis of probable future fields of activities of those educated. Some fields of activities are specialized, and engaged in by limited numbers, as for instance agriculture or any other particular vocation, but there are types of activities which should be common to all who live under our form of life and government. Education should be arranged to meet probable needs in these common fields.

SEVEN OBJECTIVES OF EDUCATION

There are certain types of activities in which all individuals in American life are certain to engage:

1. Each individual must be in effect a citizen whether he is an alien or a national. He will be a member of many groups cooperating for mutual benefit and for the benefit of society—local, national, civic, recreational, economic, religious, and many other types. The school should play a major part in preparing him to participate effectively in these group activities and to assist in giving direction to them.

2. The home may be singled out for especial considera-

tion because of its peculiar function and significance in human life. The fact that direct preparation for participation in this primary social unit has never been thoroughly attempted in the schools is neither a valid indication that preparation for those activities making for happy and effective homes is not of first rank importance, nor evidence that schools have not made indirectly a very material contribution in that direction.

3. All people should be educated to the effective use of recreation. The increasing need for attention to the development of tastes, skills, interests, and habits which will insure happy enjoyment of leisure time is hardly debatable.

4. Practically all persons must engage in service to others as a means of obtaining a share in the total goods and services available to society and all such need preparation for vocational life. In addition to the objectives of education suggested by these four types of activities, which are to some extent mutually exclusive, there are three other objectives which must be kept clearly in view:

5. Physical health.

6. Effective and healthy personality and individuality.

7. The development of such information, interests, and skills as will prepare young people for continued study—in college and throughout life.

The attempt to classify all the activities of life into one of these seven categories is somewhat artificial, because many can come under two or more groups. Vocational activities may possess recreational values and may involve some of those qualities which go to the making of a good citizen; they may also influence personality, which in turn plays a large part in vocational direction and success. Nevertheless, the division is useful as a means of seeing

more clearly what the objectives of education should be. It must aim at producing well-informed, healthy and able citizens, self-supporting and willing to help those less fortunate, good home-makers and men and women able to engage pleasurably in leisure activities harmless to themselves and others.

It is unintelligent to concentrate solely on immediate school-room activities such as the learning of historical names and dates, mathematics and foreign languages, and to lose sight of the desired ultimate and permanent objectives. The subjects now taught should be evaluated only in terms of their probable contributions to the fundamental purposes of education.

TEACHERS AND THE OBJECTIVES OF EDUCATION

It is a fact that teachers do much less practical thinking along the lines here illustrated than is desirable. They assume the validity of what they are given to teach, and textbooks in turn are developed to fit the teachers now in service. Courses in "Education" are devoted disproportionately to the technique of teaching what is to be taught. Knowledge of the philosophy of education, training in the consideration of the objectives of education and its place in a democratic society, and an understanding of the society for which the teacher is preparing citizens, are conspicuously lacking. Attention given in service to objectives is concentrated upon possible values of the subject matter taught.

Additional untoward factors have contributed to the loss of sense of direction and of perspective. Public secondary education has grown to such dimensions since 1890 that there have been many more positions available than properly trained candidates. As a consequence of this condition,

the large majority of high school teachers today have had insufficient training. Immature workers were given heavy daily work loads which left them no time for constructive thinking transcending their daily chores and offered no motive to stimulate reconstruction. The conservatism and lack of vision of local tax payers placed a premium against change. Superintendents and principals of schools soon learned that it was easier to go along with the ignorance and conservatism of the public about education than to try to combat them. As long as the public school was accepted, at least in public address, as "the bulwark of our democracy," and as long as reasonable funds were forthcoming, it did not seem wise to undertake too much readjustment, thereby provoking questions, if not opposition, from patrons and tax payers, and accusations of "radicalism" from sensation seekers and the lower grade of politicians.

Since 1900, school people have been particularly interested in two important educational developments: (1) the scientific movement, and (2) the administrative movement. Stimulated by better intelligence tests and the spread of the experimental method of studying problems of learning and teaching, teachers have become absorbed in improving their classroom technique. Throughout the same period school administrators have expanded their services and have introduced from business management new concepts of school finance, plant management and accounting forms and systems, unfortunately thus becoming executives rather than educators. Hence the objectives and the curriculum of schools have receded into the background.

Workers in secondary education must be rescued from the treadmill. As individuals they are relatively helpless in the grip of a machine which is controlled only by its own momentum. They need the stimulus of public opinion de-

manding the most effective training for the needs of the day, no matter what may be required in the way of curriculum reorganization.

TYPES OF LIFE NEEDS AS EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES

It should be profitable to examine more closely the principal types of activities for which the school must prepare youth, define the meaning of the term employed and point out the more important aims of secondary education.

Education for Citizenship. Good citizenship includes something more than voting, paying taxes, refraining from breaking the law, being loyal to the flag and defending the country in time of war, though if every citizen did but these things the country would profit. It involves intelligence and a willingness to study the problems which arise. It therefore involves information concerning problems of taxation, tariffs, labor and employment, international and political relations, law enforcement, investments and many other matters. That these matters demand more time and intelligence than is now devoted to them by secondary schools does not absolve the schools from doing their utmost to remedy the defect.

Education must aim at the development of those traits which characterize effective participation in group enterprises, for the good citizen is he who cooperates in group activities for the common good. The good citizen is he who is informed about group problems; who has been trained to think clearly, with the maximum of tolerance and good will and the minimum of emotionalism; who is skillful at working with others in a common cause which demands personal sacrifices.

He is, therefore, a product of all manner of experience, both in and out of the classroom—experience which has

developed in him the information, ideals, attitudes, skills and habits to form the type which will yield the greatest benefits and happiness not only to himself but to all society.

Although the school alone does not produce the good citizen, it occupies the key position in training for citizenship, and its possibilities for contributions are greater than the scope of its curriculum or its formal instruction. In addition to increasing its present material dedicated toward good citizenship, it must provide practice and training in living and in habits of mind and action which characterize individuals who will coöperate effectively in group endeavors. It must become a laboratory and a nursery for citizenship, dominated by and inculcating ideals of service and democracy and of loyalty to group interests.

The importance of good citizenship cannot be overestimated. It must receive unusually careful attention. As pointed out by James Truslow Adams* and many prominent educators, youth, in the presence of conditions which frustrate his chief desires, is not only impatient, but with his youthful enthusiasms and lack of experience he is peculiarly susceptible to the "short-cuts" and half-baked schemes of demagogues. In Germany and elsewhere in Europe youth is discovering that his uncritical acceptance of vigorous mis-leadership has resulted in adding to his other burdens the loss of liberty of speech and thought. If democracy in the United States falls prey to organized revolt or coup, one may be assured that the rank and file of those bearing arms to effect the coup will be misled youth.

This country places its faith in the ultimate effectiveness of orderly democratic processes. This faith must be justi-

* Adams, James Truslow. "Liberty—Is It Worth Fighting For?" *Scribner's Magazine* 97:269-74, May, 1935.

fied, encouraged, and made intelligent in the schools. The public must be given an understanding of the perspective of social progress and appreciation of the limitations of unsound schemes.

Education for Home Membership. Herbert Spencer once said that if a future generation in quest of knowledge concerning the civilization of this age were to gather its data about us only from the work of the schools, it must of necessity conclude that we were a society of celibates, for it would be unable to discover any evidence that the schools envisaged the future participation of their pupils in the making of homes and the rearing of children.

In spite of the failure of the schools to educate for worthy home membership, no one can deny that the welfare of society depends directly and heavily on the efficiency with which the home performs its functions. It is the most important single agency in the education of the young. It is the most important factor in the building of character. It is the first line of defense in health. It is the basis of the purchase and consumption of most of the world's goods. It is the most potent single determinant of the happiness of the family group. In whatever way the school can contribute to the realization of the possibilities of the home in these respects, it is incumbent upon the school to extend itself to the maximum.

A broader concept for the home than cooking, sewing and nursing must be the objective of secondary education, this objective to apply to both boys and girls. When a sensible adjustment to this responsibility of the school has been developed the importance of educating one's own children to the need of mutual respect for personalities, the proper financial and purchasing aspects of home-making and other important responsibilities can be seen. There are

vast unrealized possibilities in the realm of home and consumer education which have not yet been explored.

Education for Leisure Life. It should not be necessary to repeat the statements of fact, so often made of late, relative to the increased necessity of education for the spending of leisure time, nor should it be needful to review the dangers inherent in the expansion, for profit, of commercialized amusement and vice. Non-vocational activities bring more satisfaction to most people than those of earning a living. Increased technological knowledge has transformed a large part of vocational activity to mere monotonous drudgery, so that any satisfying experience must come from leisure pursuits. To insure that these pursuits bring happiness to the individual, without danger to society or other individuals, their directions must be guided.

Education for leisure must be revised. Programs in the past have been intended almost solely for a small leisure class of superior or average intelligence. It cannot be expected that the great mass of the populace will spend its leisure time with the classics, the arts, or higher mathematics. Leisure education must then be attuned to the primitive instincts for physical and practical activity, the more familiar pursuits of the masses—the home and its furnishings, nature, sports, games, the radio, and social activities.

Dr. J. F. Steiner, of the University of Washington, in the report of President Hoover's Research Committee on Social Trends, advises that in the light of modern conditions and trends park and playground areas be doubled. In the same report the costs of automobile leisure touring in 1928 are given as something like three and a half billion dollars. It would seem, particularly in the light of the almost incredible loss of life and injuries and property losses,

that a serious effort should be made to divert a portion of leisure activity from the highway to the playground and other leisure activity centers. Certainly as compared to parks and playgrounds the automobile is definitely of less physical recreational value, to say nothing of the physical and moral hazards involved.

Vocational Efficiency. As long as society gives high place to material returns and power, special provision must be made for vocational education, for apparently when one invests his time and energies in being educated, he demands a return in terms of ability to earn.

Actually the welfare of society is closely bound up with the vocational efficiency of its workers. Not only must it have trained lawyers, doctors, engineers, etc., but it must have educated men and women as clerical, factory, agricultural, sales and other workers, in order to enjoy the greatest productivity of all its manifold industrial and commercial enterprises.

Physical and Mental Health. The program of the secondary school has traditionally been aimed largely towards intellectual activities, and only recently has there been any direct effort to insure mental and physical health. Important for its own sake and a necessity for good citizenship, worthy home-membership, vocational efficiency and the best use of leisure time, health should be a major concern in any program of public education. In the field of health we are now coming to realize the truth of the old saying, "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure." This implies that more attention will be paid to health education, medical examinations, and the early care of incipient defects and diseases. For obvious reasons the home cannot be entrusted with the stewardship of these matters, at least in the instances of the great majority. Until

some such agency as the department of public health shall broaden its activities to include well-developed programs of health education, the school has not only a splendid opportunity in this respect, but also a responsibility.

The need for the promotion of sound mentality and vigorous personality is quite similar, though the procedures and possibilities are less clear. Psychologists, psychiatrists and many physicians realize the importance of measures for the promotion of health and the value of childhood experience as conditioning social health throughout life. Statistics reveal that the number of cases of mental disorders of all kinds is almost as great as that of organic disorders. The burden to society of medical and institutional costs, crime, inefficiency and unhappiness is so great that those who are in a position to provide an environment for children and youth which makes for mental health and integrity should carefully study the possibilities.

Until recently, the development of a sound, attractive and effective personality has received little attention from education, yet it is clear that the school may render a great service by providing an environment conducive to the nourishment and conservation of salutary initiative and worthwhile individuality.

Preparation for Continued Learning. The preparatory function of the secondary school has long been recognized, though in all probability poorly fulfilled. The secondary school should continue the acquisition of skill in the tools first used in the elementary school and it should also address itself to the task of developing interests which will carry over into adult life. Investigations show that very few of the details of materials learned in school are long remembered afterward. Immediate mastery of materials soon forgotten is of little use. Better perhaps that a pupil

should not have studied Shakespeare, European history, or botany, than to have acquired a soon-to-be-forgotten smattering of information in these fields and concomitantly an attitude favorable to future avoidance of such materials.

Secondary schools have concentrated too much on preparation for college attendance and not enough upon preparation for continued study without the stimulus of a classroom teacher. The narrowness of such a program is obvious, and investigations prove that students who have pursued those subjects thought to have college preparatory value do little if any better in college than students of equal intelligence who have elected other subjects.

"Status" as an Educational Objective. In a number of foreign countries the completion of a secondary school education is sought because of the social and economic status its achievement more or less assures. This attitude, however, gives no direction to an educational program, though it has certain value as a selective process, eliminating the lazy, the unintelligent, and those of least economic means.

In this country a tendency toward the "status" fallacy has been noticed. Many pupils remain in school to satisfy the ambitions of parents or of themselves. To withdraw or be eliminated from college before graduation, or to attend a vocational institution, tends to impair the social standing of parents and pupil.

"Status" as an objective can have no beneficial effect upon the program of secondary education. Its chief effect is to introduce impertinent considerations into thinking about educational problems.

The Objectives of a National Program of Education for Youth. The program of education should aim to produce a generation of adults (1) loyal to their people, coöperative

in habits and well-informed in economic, political and other problems; (2) capable of maintaining happy and effective homes for their children; (3) capable of carrying on their vocational activities; (4) able to spend their leisure time profitably; (5) sound in bodily health; (6) mentally sound; and (7) interested in and capable of continuing to study all aspects of life and culture.

Complete realization of the attainment of these objectives is not possible except with a far greater degree of education than now prevails. *As a necessary means to this end, the equivalent of at least twelve full-time years of formal schooling should come to be regarded as the standard minimum equipment of the American citizen.* This objective or issue seems to be of sufficient importance to warrant a somewhat more extended discussion, and Section V is devoted to it.

The Objectives and the School Program. Secondary education, if it is to minister most effectively to the needs of Twentieth century American society, must be remodeled to insure these objectives: citizenship and character, home leadership, physical and mental health, proper leisure activities and the abilities and interests which tend to foster the continuance of learning beyond the school period.

To achieve these goals the secondary school must enlarge its scope of service to include guidance activities, extra-curricular clubs and organizations, the management and government of the school, home activities and pupil-teacher contacts outside of the classroom.

In the past, the secondary school has been opportunistic. For its curriculum it has seized upon available knowledge artificially separated from its relation to life and confined mostly in textbooks. These have been adapted to the time available for their study, to the capabilities of the students

and, as previously mentioned, to fit the teachers. Instead of attempting to revise and modernize their subject matter, teachers have tried to justify the prevailing program, satisfied with some minor and illy conceived tinkering. Many teachers know so little about the subjects they teach that any attempt to reorganize their subject matter is quite beyond them. Most of the others, relatively innocent of any fully matured educational philosophy, and of the nature of young people and social conditions, trends and needs, are unable to make intelligent use of the knowledge of school subjects they do possess. Many have neither the material with which to work nor the imagination to organize it.

III

THE PROBLEMS AND NEEDS OF YOUTH

EDUCATIONAL organization and procedure must be built upon the characteristics of the individual to be educated, for the effectiveness of any program is largely determined by the interests, capacities, and status of the individual. For example, it may be deemed desirable, and useful to society and the individual, to train youth of to-day in philosophy, higher mathematics, English literature, Greek or the history of economic thought, but it is very doubtful if more than a small minority of the whole secondary school population would make sufficient head-way in them to warrant the expenditure of time and money involved in the attempt.

This is an important factor for those who will not become college graduates. The group which presents our most pressing educational problem is composed of youth beyond compulsory school age, not of children blindly accepting school curricula and activities on faith. Most of this group will never seek college degrees, so there is for them no incentive to give their best efforts to studies the avowed purpose of which is to prepare for college or university. Whatever youth are taught should either give pleasure while studying it, or possess readily recognized and deeply appreciated indirect or deferred values.

Any program of youth education should be formulated in the light of capacities and interests, as well as adjusted to probable individual needs. Youth must be prepared to do various things, to specialize in some one thing and to ex-

exploit and explore his points of strength. Education must not only be integrative, yielding common types of information, skills, understanding, ideals, attitudes, and tastes necessary for life in a coöperative society such as our democracy is, but it must also be differentiative, preparing a wide variety of minds with suitable equipment to carry forward work and progress along all fronts of knowledge and activity, and conserving as much as possible all the various possibilities of the human race for unique contributions. The problem of making these types of adjustments in the existing schools, never solved, has been increasingly acute in recent decades.

THE INCREASED VARIABILITY OF NEEDS, CAPACITIES, AND INTERESTS OF YOUTH

The number of pupils enrolled in secondary schools has doubled every ten years since 1890. Today more than six million of the approximately ten million youth aged 14 through 17 are in high school.* Likewise the total enrollment of youth in college and other post-secondary schools has grown from some 350,000 in 1910 to a million and a quarter in 1930. Today almost 20 per cent of young people between 18 and 21 are in school. Nothing indicates that this trend is to stop far short of the enrollment in school or college of practically all young people below the age of 18 and perhaps a majority of those between 17 and 20.

The new pupil of lesser academic ability. This approach to universal education of young people to the age of 20 is of tremendous significance both for the support and the program of education. The average brightness of pupils attending high school in 1920, as shown in studies

* Statistics in this paragraph are taken from bulletins of the U. S. Office of Education.

made at that time* may be represented by an intelligence quotient between 105 and 110. The I.Q. of most of the youth of high school age, but not in school today, is probably between 85 and 105. The typical non-vocational curriculum of the school today is pitched for children of I.Q. of 105 and above. Youth, particularly boys, with an I.Q. of less than 95 have very little chance of learning enough of algebra and Latin to receive a passing grade, modest criterion though that may be, and those with an I.Q. of less than 90 have little chance of passing or doing reasonably well in these two groups of subjects, which require on the average a minimum I.Q. of 105 and 100 respectively.

Appreciation of the significance of these statements is heightened when one recalls that only 35 per cent of all children have I.Q.'s as high as 105 and less than 20 per cent as high as 110, while the I.Q. of approximately 20 per cent is not more than 90. The program of secondary education, including the first two years of what we now call college education, must be reformulated for the total population of youth of these ages. As President Hutchins of the University of Chicago has appropriately observed, "We must expand our educational system to take care of youth up to the eighteenth or even the twentieth birthday." If present trends in scientific, mechanical and industrial progress continue, there will be even less need or place for the employment in industry on full time of any large fraction of young people under 21.

It seems fundamental to assume that secondary education must be reformulated so as to be adapted to the needs,

* Brief reviews of these studies and related information are given in *Secondary School Population*, Monograph No. 4 of the National Survey of Secondary Education. U. S. Office of Education, Bulletin, 1932, No. 17.

interests, and abilities of the full range of unselected youth. This basic principle is at odds with the philosophy of intellectual aristocracy which has previously characterized and governed secondary education. Traditionally, secondary education has been thought of as being for the boy or girl of "parts." Teachers and administrators have complained that they have been burdened with young people who were not fit, who should not be in high school. The selective principle has not been made to function effectively. Whatever one may believe should be done, it seems inevitable that the school will accept the responsibilities for a greatly expanded constituency.

The pupil of unusual talent. While courses of study in the high schools in non-vocational subjects have been much more suited to young people of average and superior intelligence, a very effective program of realizing the greatest possibilities of unusual talent has yet to be introduced into most secondary schools. There is, perhaps, an increased danger that the talents of the superior will be poorly developed, as a consequence of the simplification of the courses of study to meet better the needs of children of mediocre or inferior ability who lack interest in abstract and academic materials.

To best conserve and develop latent genius in the entire population, two lines of procedure are necessary: (1) the provision of adequate opportunities for pupils of unusual talents of various types to be identified and (2) the guidance of young people of special talents into appropriate training developed and adapted especially for their potentialities. Beginnings have been made in both these directions. Guidance programs have been appearing and developing in many secondary schools. While unfortunately they have been mostly superficial, ill-balanced, and adminis-

tered by individuals without adequate training, with disproportionate emphasis upon vocational guidance and subject to abuse by individuals whose zeal and superficiality have approached charlatanism, they do nevertheless constitute a beginning. Guidance service, properly conceived, is a continuous process and in large part consists of enabling the pupil to discover and explore himself, to acquire an orientation in the fields of human thought and activity, and to make his own decisions more intelligently.

In addition, opportunities should be provided everywhere for talent of all sorts, musical, literary, artistic, social, mechanical, academic, and otherwise, to be stimulated and nourished to complete and effective growth and development, with courses in the larger schools or in non-public schools maintained especially for this purpose, adapted specifically to the needs of such pupils. Such courses should not consist merely in increased work or more difficult work of the same type as that provided for average children, but must include materials which stimulate unusual qualities of imagination, originality, and individual initiative, and may be of a much more abstract nature. Over-supervision and insistence upon petty details of learning activities or assignments, may, for the talented type of learner, be not only wasteful but also harmful.

In the interests of the nation and to protect society's stake in education, a goodly share of the more brilliant youth should be directed into government service and into business leadership, with appropriate training provided. As rapidly as possible, the organization of public service should be so modified as to reserve for properly selected and trained men and women the very large majority of permanent public positions, and the tenure and salaries should be made attractive to the best American youth.

THE PROBLEMS OF YOUTH

In attempting to outline here the characteristic and more important needs of youth, there have been employed, in addition to treatises on the psychology of adolescence, such informal data as the questions asked and problems presented in national or regional meetings of representatives of youth, the indictments brought against present day society by groups of young people at the Oranges and Maplewood, New Jersey,* the Michigan Youth Conference, and a statement of "Youth's Most Urgent Problems" prepared by a conference of students in youth problems held in the office of Dr. F. J. Kelly of the United States Office of Education, January 28, 1936. The author has also drawn upon his own experience in this field, as it has developed from contacts with young people and with teachers, counselors, principals, welfare workers, and parents. Only the more important problems can be presented here.

To find a satisfying place among fellow youth. The immediate yearnings and difficulties of youth fall largely into a few categories. Perhaps most vital, especially until the age of 18 or 19 is reached, is the deep-seated desire to find a satisfying place among other youth. This problem of adjustment for the adolescent is no less important and gripping to him than are the problems of war, finance, politics, and religion to the adult. Upon the solution of no other problem perhaps does the wholesome personality of the individual so much depend. He wishes to be accepted by his fellows. He craves their friendship, respect, and admiration. He desires congenial companions at work and

* Society was indicted on six counts: (1) starvation wages, (2) inability of young people to marry on account of lack of jobs, (3) inadequate instruction on choosing a mate, (4) permitting pitfalls for youth, (5) harsh attitude towards first offenders, and (6) failure to use available facilities for recreation.

at play. He wishes to appear well in their eyes—as to dress, person, speech, interests and skills. He desires to possess what he thinks are normal relations to those of the other sex. He wants, above all, to excel in those characteristics and activities which are normally high on the scale of his fellows. Excessive doubts and fears as well as failures in these respects arouse despair, resentment and horror, and leave in their trail the germs of an anti-social character and mental ill health.

To experience personal achievement. Closely allied to the desire to find companionship and admiration among fellow youth is the desire to have “abilities,” or, perhaps to state it better, the fear of not having abilities. It is normal and beneficial for young people to explore constantly their abilities in various fields, with expectation of success. To fail in anything attempted is, at least for the time disconcerting. To fail in those things in which he is most interested is very unfortunate. To fail in almost everything is disastrous. For the healthy nourishment of a strong personality and desirable character, he must succeed in something which to him seems worth while. Many may survive failures in a number of fields and laugh them off. Nature has fortunately endowed us with a means of preserving self-respect and courage, in the form of a tendency to lose interest in those fields of activity in which we do not do well,—although this characteristic is found in varying degrees among individuals.

The desire for self-expression, for power, may not be constantly thwarted without injury to the personality of the individual. Either he must find opportunities to succeed or they must be found for him. Ordinarily, if he can but find fields in which he experiences success, they become of magnified importance in his eyes. Fortunately, the fields in

which he has no abilities generally lose their significance for him, unless they be considered indispensable by his actual or hoped-for companions.

To enter into and succeed in vocational life. Children and youth likewise look forward with expectation, optimistic anticipation, fear and doubt, to finding their way into a vocational pursuit which will furnish satisfying activities combined with the desired social and monetary returns. The importance of this problem grips every boy more firmly as he approaches the end of his teens. The problem of adjustment at home or at play wanes, while that of adjustment to the vocational world, now becoming imminent, grows. He craves information about himself and possible callings. He seeks an answer to his questions of "what am I best fitted for," "what chances of success have I as a ——?" and "what are the avenues of entrance to and the rewards of ——?"

Compared to the young person of preceding generations, the youth of today suffers conspicuously from the fear that he will not find any suitable employment. There is a clashing conflict between what the experience of previous generations has led him to expect on the one hand and his fears on the other that he will arrive at maturity theoretically an economic citizen, actually an outcast.

It is normal and right that every child should look forward with absolute assurance of finding, upon becoming an adult, a place in the work of the world, a place which will enable him to maintain self-respect and a tone of optimism. But to the youth of today the golden age of opportunity seems to have passed. The railroads have been built, the forest lands and the greater portion of mineral lands have been possessed, free farm land worth having has disappeared, and the great basic industries have been

developed. The opportunities of developing new industrial plants or commercial enterprises are not nearly so favorable as they were for previous generations. The expansion of distribution, the development of mass production, and national programs of advertising make such demands in the form of capital, as compared to conditions existing in previous generations, that many doors to opportunity are all but closed. Feminine youth is beginning to doubt that careers for women lead very far and to fear that the opportunities for girls to rise to the top with their "poor boy" husbands are not very encouraging.

The burden of this transition from a young, pioneer nation to a mature and more stable nation is particularly difficult for present-day youth. His is the first generation to face the fact that the opportunities to rise from office boy to president have been somewhat deflated, in spite of the fact that the tradition is still kept alive in fancy by the biographies of the fortunate self-made men of his father's generation. In other words, he has been brought up with ambitions which for the great mass of young people cannot possibly be fulfilled.

Soon after young people become physiologically mature they normally think of assuming marital relationship and establishing a home of their own and economic independence. If they are denied the opportunity to do these things and to satisfy their desires for good clothes and social life, the temptation to employ illegitimate means is strong. Those who would find the cause for the lowered moral tone of older adolescents and young adults should look here first. It is not merely speculative to attribute the disproportionate participation of youths aged from 16 through 25 in crimes involving violent and illegal attempts to obtain purchasing power, to their inability to find honest

employment and to a lowering of morale growing out of their failure to find a responsible place in economic life. The fact that 50% of arrests are of youths from 16 to 25, though they constitute but 16% of the population, is not difficult to explain, particularly when one takes note of the character of the offenses.

To be able to establish and enjoy a happy home. It is fortunate that youth today, despite our immediate economic situation, still look forward to marrying and establishing a home. In fact, they are now giving more serious attention to this aspect of their lives than previously.*

Young men and women of today are prone to give great consideration to the problem of obtaining a mate of superior qualities. This may be the result of their knowledge of heredity and disease, greater attention to psychology, or as an outcome of the increase in divorce. While, unlike jobs, the relative supply to demand of mates has not decreased, there is the growing realization that the supply of superior obtainable prospects is limited.

To understand and improve political and economic conditions. It is encouraging to note that modern youth is more than ever before interested in the political and economic life of his country. Unlike the youth of many foreign countries where the advanced maturity of their economic and political structures has reduced the possibility of any individual rising from obscurity to prominence, American youth until now has been conspicuous for his child-like innocence and disinterestedness in the problems of state. He felt assured of his future and worried little about such matters.

* Adults would hardly have predicted that a group of youths would list well toward the top among their complaints against modern society, as they did in the Oranges-Maplewood "Trial of Society," that they were not adequately trained in selecting a mate.

Today that is somewhat changed. The rapid growth of discussion groups in schools and colleges has alarmed educators to whom such a display of adult-like interest seems a relatively unnatural performance for American youth. Youth has become so active and so interested that faculties and administrators, perhaps partly in an effort to disclaim responsibility when the more conservative fathers raise voices or eyebrows, are prone to look for some outside stimulus—"communistic" or otherwise. It does not seem "regular" that youth unprovoked should branch out beyond football, fraternity, and homework to form groups for the improvement of economic and political conditions and for defense against the tendency of contemporary adults to bar them from gainful employment, to bequeath them an excessive debt, or to expose them unnecessarily to the dangers of another war.

Youth of today lends an interested ear to those who are dissatisfied with the failures of American institutions to live up to their possibilities and to the ideals of their founders. They demonstrate their interest in two completely opposite ways. Many wish to acquire as soon as possible skill in the methods by which institutions and resources may be most effectively exploited and turned to their personal account. On the campus they organize and operate on the basis of the principles employed by so many of their equally individualistic elders, namely those which yield the greatest immediate personal returns, whatever the cost to the general welfare. Others react in an exactly opposite manner. They interest themselves in the problems of keeping alive and functioning American ideals of honesty, cooperation, efficiency, justice, and fair dealing. They are eager to discover how they can reduce unemployment, replace political chicanery with honest, efficient government,

prevent the despoliation of natural resources, maintain peace with other countries, protect the weak from exploitation by the strong, and increase efficiency in all phases of life. The decrease of vocational opportunity in recent years convinces them that the world needs overhauling. Youth is at once selfish and idealistic. Which tendency will predominate in their later lives depends largely upon their experiences in school and college.

Among the youth of today who are inclined to think of problems beyond their immediate wants and needs there is a deep-seated desire for international peace. About this, youth is very idealistic and desires to be very realistic. Maturity is coming to the present generation at a time when its major woes seem related in one way or another to the World War. This generation strongly suspects that it is to pay for that war. The veterans' bonus, the prospect of heavy and interminable pensions, the post-war depression with its unemployment and closing of doors of life to youth, the huge costs of armaments—the enormity of all these—seem to them to be burdens saddled on youth of today by procrastinating, careless, selfish and unintelligent policies of their fathers' generation. Nothing is more despised by youth in their characteristic self-assurance than stupidity. Wars seem to them stupid and unnecessary.

The typical intolerance of youth for inefficiency and stupidity makes them critical students of the apparent waste and ineffectiveness of government. The advantages and merits they take for granted. That their fathers have not been able to do better than is indicated by prevailing conditions is to them proof positive of the limited competence of the previous generation. Innocent of the compromises necessitated by factors they have not yet come to understand, they constitute, until better versed in the field of

political science and arts as it actually exists, a fertile field for those who would sow seeds of dissatisfaction and utilize the impetuosity of youth for ulterior ends.

To maintain health and maximum physical efficiency. Youth individually is also seriously concerned with health. The age-old desire for physical perfection has become more than a desire for physical prowess and good looks. Hygiene, exercise, prevention of disease, preservation of teeth and maintenance of physical efficiency play a large part in the thoughts of youth today, partly attributable to the greater emphasis upon these things in the elementary school curricula, in radio programs, the advertising programs of concerns manufacturing real or purported aids to health, and to the popularization in recent years of health and medical knowledge among adults generally.

To participate in enjoyable recreational activities. It is not novel, nor peculiar to youth, to seek a satisfying social and recreational life. Normally one desires to play at sports or indoor games, to experience courtship and to be entertained by music, movies, plays and other gratifying stimuli. Youth also wants to experience a vicarious life through the media of printed material, public discussions or exposition, and moving pictures. If the life of youth is to be made as complete and satisfying as possible, education should be carried on under conditions which allow the satisfactions of these urges, keenest in childhood and adolescence. That is necessary and, with respect to future mental health, wise. Guided participation in the leisure side of life is the best preparation for a complete adult life, for by such means the probability of either youth or adult satisfying his strong primitive urges in ways not conducive to the welfare of society or the individual himself may be materially decreased.

Philosophical complexes. In the mind of today's youth, probably even more than in previous generations, are many conflicts for the solution of which he is avid. Like all human beings he has a natural tendency to find room in his thinking for an outside or superhuman force or being, yet modern intellectualism and skepticism discourage him from doing so. He is suspended between the religious beliefs and doctrines of his grandfathers and the tendency of the generation just preceding his toward liberality and doubt. He oscillates between a denial of a superhuman force or being and an instinctive reversion in time of stress to such a force or being.

He likewise finds it almost impossible to settle the conflict between normal urges related to sex and the taboos imposed by adults which seem to imply that anything related to sex is unworthy and unnatural. He becomes impressed by the importance of sex, but is bewildered at the failure of adults to enlighten him. The very fact that sex is obviously so strong a factor in his own make-up is often interpreted, with danger to the individual, as indicating abnormality, perversion, or degeneration. Attempts on his part to shut out this normal, instinctive element from his consciousness are not only futile but, if done in the typical manner implying guilt, definitely dangerous to mental health.

The skepticism of today's youth. Youth is unusually skeptical today and holds a questioning, suspicious attitude of disillusionment. Expressions such as "Oh, yeah!" or "So what?" not only characterize the general skepticism of this and recent periods, but are peculiarly indicative of the attitude of youth. Youth senses a crumbling of the religious doctrines of his parents and grandparents and is likely to regard it as progress—as the liberation of the mind from

what resembles superstition. Age-old beliefs are weakening, and today's youth is fully aware of it. He is definitely susceptible to modern individualism, sophistication, and what he believes to be scientific and rational truth.

Faith is surely, though dangerously, giving way to reason, and youth seems anxious to accelerate the transition. He has become a worshipper of the standards of intellect as opposed to those of heart. His ideal is to be clever and wise, not good and conforming. He has seen the retreat and collapse of prejudices to which his respectable grandfather clung so tenaciously—prejudices against cards, dancing, liquor, Sunday amusements, divorce, love and sex plays, and cheap fiction. He has little respect for the stern virtues of his grandparents—industry, abstinence, continence, contempt for play—merely as expressions of character. He is not interested in them except as they may be directly necessary for specific ends.

Youth of today more than ever questions the school. In previous generations the great mass dropped out before completing high school, and the few remaining found open to them the doors to the "white collar" jobs. Neither group was in a position to criticize education seriously. Today the majority of youth tries the high school and finds it no longer the open sesame to occupational opportunity and respectability. In this critical and skeptical frame of mind, he no longer accepts on faith the loose, relatively insupportable academic generalizations that have been invoked to justify the existing curriculum and to enable the entrenched and smug educational interests to withstand demands for adjustment to needs and modern psychology.

Youth no longer is willing to accept as authoritative those educational theories and practices which deliberately avoid contacts with modern social, aesthetic and scientific

culture, which concentrate on linguistic and verbal learning which keep pupils in ignorance of the world in which they will live, which give a training based upon discredited theories of developing general mental powers, and which offer the fragments of vocational education for a small number of types of occupations already badly overcrowded.

American youth of former generations has been rollicking, happy-go-lucky, willing to gamble on the national resources and the elements of fortune peculiar to a young, pioneer, and rich nation. Unlike its European counterpart, it has been distinguished by an apparent economic and political immaturity and unconcern and has figured little in political demonstrations or conflicts. The present generation of youth has taken on significantly more serious and interested attitudes. It asks to be instructed not in knowledge far removed from present problems, but in the events and tendencies of the day. A large and growing proportion of the young people in high school and college do not respect teachers and professors who lack the knowledge or courage necessary to interpret the present-day world to their students, and are patiently resentful of those educators who evade discussions of controversial problems.

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IV

RECENT CHANGES AND CURRENT TRENDS IN AMERICAN LIFE

THE life of perhaps no other people has undergone in so short a period so thorough a transformation as that of the Western nations and particularly of Americans in the last two or three generations. The program of education has lagged increasingly behind these changes. It now needs at least to be re-evaluated.

The significance of these changes for education falls into two types. The various institutions of society no longer yield the same educational results as they formerly did. Many types of valuable training are no longer the natural result of participation in those institutions. In some instances the educational result is greater or more valuable. In others, the nature of the training is different, though not clearly of less or greater value. Not only do other social institutions fail to render educational services as in the past, but modern American life and institutions make greater and more complex demands upon education. The more important of these changes and some of their implications will be reviewed briefly.*

Changes in the home as they affect education. The typical home of seventy-five years ago was a rural or semi-rural one. It was to a very great extent a self-sufficient economic unit. The foods consumed by those who occupied it were

* The materials of this chapter were prepared in the light of and partly by means of the conclusions of President Hoover's Research Committee on Social Trends, Wm. F. Ogburn, Chairman, 1933, and John Dewey's *School and Society*, 1899.

for the greater part grown and prepared for use by members of the family. This was a cooperative undertaking in which all assisted. Clothing was only to a slightly less extent a "boughten" commodity. Fuel was rarely purchased. Homemade furniture was quite common. Even boots and shoes were just being gradually shifted into the category of "store clothes." Farm implements were simple, often manufactured locally. Medicines, such as were used, were prepared largely in the home. The house itself was more often than not constructed by the owner and his neighbors. Repairs to everything—clothes, harness, farm implements, furniture—were made with pride in and around the home.

Entertainment, amusement, and social life of that day centered around the home. The very toil of the home provided a type of social life. The family participated largely as a unit in spending what leisure time was available. Leisure pursuits, with the exception of the infrequent "shows" and the local church supper or entertainment, were of a non-commercial nature, provided somewhat spontaneously and largely by the initiative of those taking part in them.

Typical home life of that day made great and varied demands not only upon the time but upon the knowledge and skill of its inhabitants. To be brought up in such a home, to participate in its responsibilities and learn the various things that had to be known to carry on all these activities, clearly possessed very important educational values. One is impressed with the lessened amount of semi-vocational information and skill needed today as a result of the passing from the home of the activities associated with food, clothing, building, repairs and the like. As a result there is today less need of education for production

and maintenance, and more need of education for consumption. This latter need has been markedly increased by the higher standard of living, involving as it does the purchase and use of many more items and much more complicated ones than in earlier periods.

One should not underrate, much less overlook, the moral value of the pioneer type of home life with its religious atmosphere and its busy program of cooperative activities participated in by children in the company of their parents. The morale and standards incident to such life and activities constituted excellent training in discipline and character building. They contributed to habits of order and industry, and to the development of responsibility and cooperation. The family Bible, prayers, the giving of thanks at meals, attendance at church on Sundays—all these were typical of the religious character of the early home. The daily activities in which the parents as well as the children spent much more of their time at home than they do today brought them into closer association than now exists. Family discussions of all matters, led by the father or mother, were regular occurrences.

Material contributions to the development of moral and social standards and ideals, as well as to habits of conduct, were thus made. The stabilizing view-points and standards of adults were earlier acquired, due to the greater proportion of time spent by youth in the company of adults, both in work and in social life. In addition, the lack of leisure time, as well as the wholesome nature of leisure pursuits centering in the home, made much simpler demands upon education than do the greater amount of leisure time and the commercialized amusements of today.

Changes in industry and commerce as they affect education. Perhaps even more revolutionary have been the

changes in industry and commerce. These changes, in their relation to education, should be carefully examined. With this in mind, a brief survey will be given here of the more important problems arising from these trends and changes—problems which demand solution through our democratic processes and which therefore make demands upon education.

Not only have a very great portion of the production of goods and many types of services passed from the home to specialized commercial agencies, but industries have deserted the local community to become nation-wide projects centered in the large cities. With efficient management and machinery, mass production by a much smaller number of producers has characterized practically all fields of production. The importance for education of these technological and commercial developments is tremendous and many-sided. Today the opportunities to acquire vocational education in the home or local community represent but a very faint shadow of those obtaining in the day of the village blacksmith, cobbler, or cabinet maker. Opportunities for acquiring vocational guidance in various occupations are decidedly less favorable. On the other hand, with the shift toward mass production and the use of machines, the need for specific vocational education in most occupations is not nearly so great and can, in many occupations employing millions, be effectively acquired on the job in a few weeks or months.

Of even greater significance, exaggerated peculiarly by the decreasing option as to the level of occupational pursuit, are the problems of unemployment and the division of the products of machines. Formerly, a large percentage of the population engaged in manufacturing were employers and a much smaller percentage were employees. Op-

portunities to enter the ranks of the former at least in a small way were open to anyone. Little capital was needed in the days before low unit-costs of production, a consequence of machine and mass production, rendered competition by small productive enterprises impossible in many fields. To those who were not inclined to industry or commerce there was always the alternative of agriculture, with cheap or free land available.

Today the employment of millions of people and the support of their dependents flutters with the market for products, with the volume of exports, with wars, and with various other phenomena which, as a result of increased interdependence in recent decades of people and nations, have steadily become more and more significant in determining the proportion of people employed.

Because of the greatly increased degree and importance of interdependence, and because of the very nature of democracy, the necessity for much greater effort toward economic and political intelligence is inescapable. It is the essential nature of democracy that its citizenry is unwilling to entrust powers or functions to any elite, financial, political, or intellectual group not responsible to the suffrage. The exercise of their right to pass upon the political program of those entrusted with leadership presupposes a citizenry sufficiently trained to act intelligently. Indeed this line of responsibility would seem to apply in considerable degree not only to political but to industrial, commercial and agricultural leadership as well. The welfare of all the people, in fact their very life, has become so inextricably involved in and dependent upon policies and procedures in these fields that the traditional concept of the right to run one's own business as one pleases is now becoming regarded as subject to limitations similar to those applying

to the "right" to operate an automobile, a packing house, or a dairy without regard to the welfare of others.

Whether or not we approve this new concept, it seems certainly due for greater consideration. Education must prepare for the probable contingencies of that development. To further subject productive and business enterprises to the will of unintelligent voters of no more social vision and loyalty to the general welfare than great masses of them possess today might well prove to be fraught with even graver dangers than now exist in the democratic control by the people of the less economic aspects of government.

In addition to the problems created by the effects of mass and machine production, our present industrial and economic organization brings into sharper focus the question of the proper distribution of economic goods and services. Upon the solution of this problem rests the fate of general prosperity and the maintenance of the productive and distributive agencies we need. It will be the determining factor in our standards of living and in our trade relations with other nations. The problems are not such as yield to simple solutions, nor are they well understood even by many labor and business leaders, yet they are fast becoming the issues upon which ballots are cast and upon which the actions and policies of employer and employee turn. While the education of the masses to the desired degree of intelligence in such matters is not a hopeful objective so long as these conditions exist, the school, as a social institution for the stabilization and improvement of society, must strive to make its greatest possible contributions. *An equally promising approach, however, is to develop a generation of leaders inspired with the ideals of loyalty to the good of all, with a code of fair dealing, and with the goal of service to humanity rather than the acquisition of wealth for its own sake.*

The tendency toward larger factories and mass production has stimulated and paralleled the rapid expansion of commercial advertising. Low unit-cost production is possible only as a consequence of large-quantity sales, and large-quantity sales are possible for most commodities only on the basis of a national market, impossible without advertising campaigns. Better quality or reduced price, however important in themselves, cannot be substituted for advertising as a means of obtaining or maintaining volume.

Statements in advertising matter are not formulated primarily on the basis of giving the public accurate and important information, but for the purpose of inducing purchases. The huge sums of money which may be spent profitably on advertising command the highest degree of skill in presenting advertising campaigns and copy which are irresistible.

Along with these developments, science has helped to produce not only many better and badly needed new types of goods but also articles actually inferior in quality but so alike those of superior quality that prospective purchasers find it difficult to distinguish them. Many of these articles are not only inferior in quality, lacking in durability and expensive in repair, but are positively dangerous to the health and safety of the user. To employ men and women and money in the production of "salable" articles not of value in proportion to their cost is not national economy. To spend large sums of money annually on types of advertising, which do no more than to furnish misleading and inaccurate information and to offset one half with the other, is a very questionable use of resources.

There are several approaches to the problems raised by these developments in production and distribution, all of which involve the cooperation of education. The first to occur to many is the direct legislative approach. In addition

to the limitations of legislation in such matters, experience has shown that it is not practical to expect effective legislation without a more intelligent and insistent demand from the people and a strong public opinion for its enforcement. One alternative is the education of manufacturers, advertisers and scientists to ideals and attitudes unfavorable to practices which are uneconomical to society as a whole. The suggestion is not without merit as an auxiliary to other procedures.

Still another promising approach is the long-time educational one, but perhaps even more effective, and certainly more in conformity with American tradition, is the scientific education through the schools of all purchasers in the dangers of gullibility in such matters, and in the technical information enabling them to discriminate wisely. Here is a rich and inviting field for instruction in the natural sciences, the social sciences, and the household and industrial arts.

Still another important problem growing out of technological and economic innovations has come sharply to our immediate attention. As a result of the phenomenal technical advances in labor-saving machines, industrial chemistry, means of transportation and agricultural implements, we are able today to produce several times as much goods per individual as in previous generations. Science in all fields has made almost miraculous contributions to civilization—theoretically boons to all mankind—and it is part and parcel of democratic thinking and ways of life that the gains of civilization are essentially mass gains and should be distributed throughout the country without delay. To the extent that a democratic society withholds unnecessarily from any portion of its membership the comforts and luxuries made technically available to all by scientific con-

tributions—to that extent democracy falls short of its objective.

Our present system of semi-monopolies, very desirable in the interest of large-quantity production and low unit-costs, is thought by many to concentrate too exclusively on profits to producers, financiers and stockholders, impeding the passing on of technological gains to the masses. As a very practical means of stimulating men to their best efforts in a society so engrossed in material accumulation and power as all Western civilization is today, such a scheme is psychologically sound. But because of the failure of the present organization to solve the problem of distribution, readjustments are being proposed, and upon these the people will be called to pass judgment.

Many such problems are on the doorstep of youth today. Among the new ones are those arising from financing industry and commerce of doubtful value, particularly those raised by the holding and management companies, especially in the field of public utilities. Inherited from previous generations are those relative to wages, security of employment and provision for old age, and working conditions. The youth of these and several oncoming generations will wrestle with these questions.

Advances in medical science have brought into question prevailing machinery for passing on to the masses the gains of civilization. It is now theoretically possible for all men to enjoy the recent discoveries which prevent and cure disease, maintain health, prolong life, reduce physical suffering, preserve and replace teeth, and prevent, cure and alleviate mental and personality disorders. We have not yet perfected suitable plans which make these services available to the entire population. Actually, medical service of some sort is at the command of every individual in major

emergencies, such as serious injuries and contagious diseases, but beyond these, the poor do not share such advantages, and the middle classes only to a limited degree.

Regular medical examinations, consultations, preventive treatment, and treatment in the earliest stages of physical and mental disorders—all essential in a complete, practical program of health—must be bought and paid for out of a too limited purchasing power. Thousands of well-trained doctors, dentists and nurses are employed on part time only—and thousands more could be trained at no great cost to society—while millions of people are deprived of medical, dental, and nursing care. To bring together those who need and those who can render these services is a problem yet to be solved and one which challenges the intelligence of our entire society.

These questions demand our best attention, but in the consideration of them at present there is widespread confusion, thorough misunderstanding, and white-heat emotions which make clear thinking all but impossible. Hysterical fears for private property and wild plans for the abolition of profits set men at each other's throats and threaten democracy, largely because there is lacking on the part of the great majority in both groups the desirable ideals, attitudes, and information in these matters. There is required a long, serious and continued study of such problems, carried on in an atmosphere of more intellectual impartiality than is possible in any agency, except the schools, available to the mass of the people. The attitude of suspended judgment as developed by training is not a single, generic function in all fields. It must be developed in those fields in which we expect it to be applied and it must be of mature growth, nurtured in an environment impartial and factual in tone.

As Charles E. Merriam, professor of political science,

University of Chicago, and a member of the Commission on the Social Studies of the American Historical Association, said: "Assuming an agreement upon such a democratic principle and ideal, it is possible to educate the coming citizen in the democratic ways of life, in the knowledge of the trends and tendencies of the technological world in which political and economic action are set. The future citizen might be trained to look forward as well as backward; to appraise values, ideas, institutions and propagandas; to habituate himself to a spirit of enquiry and the constant reconstruction of the modes of life in terms of our knowledge."*

Changes in international relations as they affect education. Recent developments in commerce, industry and finance, along with the advances of science as they apply to instruments of warfare, have put a new face upon international relationships. Nations have become much more interdependent as a result of the increased exchange of goods made possible by improved transportation facilities. This interdependence has its ramifications in finance. It has so closely correlated the economic interests of our nation with those of other nations that depressions and financial conditions abroad have serious effects on us. Further, international investments and credits have become of such importance that they definitely affect the attitudes of nations with respect to war and peace. The commerce of nations is a highly competitive affair. Nations no longer quarrel merely for political domain. World markets in all corners of the globe are now the bone of contention over which the dogs of war struggle. Our economic processes furnish constant encouragement to conflict for freedom of the seas, national honor and protection of the rights of nationals.

This economic competition is fitted into a background

* *Civic Education in the United States*, p. xi, Scribner's, 1934.

already heavily loaded with racial and national conceit and distrust, provincialism and jingoism—conditions perhaps to be expected of peoples of diverse origins, speech, appearance and conventions, but peculiarly aggravated by unnecessary and dangerous propaganda in the schools and elsewhere. To avoid international conflict becomes an increasingly difficult task under these conditions.

The avoidance of war is more to be sought now than in previous generations. War is no longer fought by representative armies, but by the whole population with all its economic and scientific strength. Modern explosives, gases and airplanes place the great cities in any country in danger of destruction. Automatically, all citizens become participants, the more able-bodied men by universal draft, the others as workers behind the lines—all subject to death and injury at the hands of the enemy by violence, starvation or disease spread premeditatedly.

America, as well as other countries, then, faces in this connection a problem of importance much greater than in previous generations as a consequence of the increased temptation to war through national economic developments, and the multiplied destructiveness of modern warfare. The problem is one of education as well as of diplomacy.

The trend toward urbanization as it affects education. The last century has witnessed the transformation of the American people from one primarily rural in residence and thought to one largely urban.* Its advantages should not be ignored. The opportunities for education in music and art in a city are vastly superior to those in rural areas. To

* Between 1900 and 1930 the proportion of the population living in the 63 greatest metropolitan zones increased from 36.9% to 48.2%—McKenzie, R. D. "The Rise of Metropolitan Communities," p. 447. Chapter IX in *Recent Social Trends*. McGraw-Hill, 1933.

be sure, with the exception of a small minority, much of the rich stimuli—art galleries, concerts, beautiful buildings and museums—touch both youth and adults only lightly and occasionally. Opportunities for developing taste in dress and for correct speech habits are more plentiful in the city. Opportunities for obtaining technical and vocational education and training are also distinctly more numerous—though feebly capitalized—in cities.

The urbanization of the American people has significance for education in the problems it has created and in the increased demands made upon the public schools. Congestion of people in cities creates immediately in itself new problems of health and accentuates old ones. Education with respect to contagious diseases, the disposal of refuse and sewage, and the purity of milk and water, becomes more definitely a necessity. The need for pure air, light, exercise and play, peculiar in urban areas, all call for ideals, attitudes, interests and information favorable to intelligent community action.

With respect to moral and character values, urbanization has created greater needs and greater difficulties. When people go to live in cities they leave behind them much of the restraining influence of the social approval of neighbors and are emboldened by a relative anonymity. The city is traditionally and naturally the seat of sophistication. In it commercialized amusement and vice find the richest harvests. There is much greater need in the city to fight against the temptation to find enjoyment in activities, legal and illegal, which destroy health and life and which are inimical to the home and to good government. Here again, legislation is difficult to obtain and all but impossible to enforce. Surer structure may be founded on educating the tastes, ideals, attitudes and interests of the great

majority, the social approval of whom will go far toward restraining the minority.

The concentration of people in large cities has developed areas of residence in which the people are relatively homogeneous as to economic status, often as to national and racial origins, and consequently to a certain extent as to level of intelligence, and moral, social and aesthetic standards. Differences are thus re-enforced and characteristics of the differing groups perpetuated. This condition increases the responsibility of the school for the integration of all the people, and necessitates somewhat different types of educational programs in city schools.

Urban life and its accompanying occupational activities remove from the home not only the father, but in many instances the mother, and consequently restrict the contacts of parent and child. This fact increases the need of the school, or some other agency, to compensate for the reduced supervision of children, particularly with respect to moral education.

Developments in transportation as they affect education. The inventive genius of the Twentieth Century has given us a horseless carriage which transports us at several times the speed thought safe or lawful in the days of horse-drawn vehicles. A people who twenty years ago demanded that football, then taking an annual toll of a few score lives, be modified in the interest of the safety of youth, now sacrifice annually to the automobile between 30,000 and 40,000 lives and almost a billion dollars for hospital and medical services and property damages. Fascinated by this new death toy, we wince at its destructive toll but take no really effective action—the verdict apparently being a modern version of Patrick Henry's "Give me liberty or give me death!"

The rush of the American people to automobiles has ramifications in many directions which are of significance to education. The automobile has provided an effective means of putting distance between criminals and the scene of their crime, thus giving encouragement and assurance to evil-doers. It is no longer wise to rely upon constables and sheriffs to apprehend those who commit major crimes of violence. The safeguards provided by moral and ethical education must, by popular approval, be immeasurably strengthened. The machinery of official crime prevention and criminal apprehension must be thoroughly overhauled and adjusted to modern conditions. This may be most quickly and surely brought about as the result of popular intelligence.

The automobile has also played havoc with certain aspects of domestic life and personal morals. It has furnished vigorous competition to church attendance and leisure activities in the home, thereby decreasing the educational influence of those activities. It has removed social contact between the sexes from the home and the church to the seclusion of the closed car. To fail to see that this does not invite some educational compensation is merely to fail to think about the matter.

Annual expenditures for passenger automobiles amount approximately to ten billion dollars—one-third of the amount of the national debt and more than one-seventh of the national income. In several million families the total annual expense of owning and operating an automobile is greater than the combined amounts spent for medical and dental service, education, books, and other reading materials, church, charities, and all local and state taxes.

The competition between trucks, buses, airplanes, and the railroads also creates problems for the electorate, as

well as for the traveler, which call for information not now given in most schools.

The effect of the shift to gasoline transportation upon school organization and the units of control and support is of major significance. Not only has the coming of hard-surfaced highways resulted in the movement of population from provincial commercial and community life to larger centers, but it also makes possible and furnishes a strong argument for the abandonment of the small, inefficient and uneconomical school, and the transportation of pupils to larger, more effective and more economical schools, with far richer educational programs. This tends to ameliorate the inequalities and difficulties in the support and control of the schools inherent in small district organization.

Changes in modes of communication. With universal literacy has come the conversion of our people to a nation of readers. We now read not only news and fiction, but information of all sorts, including instruction which came formerly from oral sources or was acquired by imitation. Today we learn to cook, nurse, sew, build houses, install machinery, play golf and other games, rear children, vote, love, and raise crops and farm animals according to techniques described on the printed page. The pen has truly become mightier than the sword. When Americans universally learned to read and formed the habit of turning constantly to newspapers, magazines, pamphlets and books, for information, inspiration and attitudes, they became putty in the hands of those who write. The need, therefore, for training in discriminative reading and for independent thought is all the more compelling when one contemplates the power of propaganda as exhibited in connection with advertising and political campaigns.

The one type of publication read most widely and regu-

larly by adults, and therefore their greatest printed source of information and attitudes, is the newspaper, in the reading of which today the adult spends much more time than did his grandfather and from which he takes in recent years many of his political opinions. A comparison of newspapers published fifty years ago with those of today brings into relief several changes immediately discernible. Outstanding among these is the relative space given to advertising and the relative proportion of income received from advertisers. Upon the newspaper, and indeed upon the weekly and monthly journals, this change has had far-reaching effects. As an educational instrument it is of no less influence, but its usefulness in this respect is much more questionable, since, in the shaping of editorial policies, the attitudes of advertisers apparently cannot be ignored.

With regard to the larger dailies and periodicals, the situation contains another element, for they necessitate huge capital investments and the owners are employers of considerable labor. Under these conditions it is expecting too much to rely on these publications to educate the public impartially on the issues affecting problems in which there are conflicts between producer and consumer and between employer and employee. Quite naturally, with few exceptions and so long as circulation is not adversely affected, efforts will be made to educate the public to the points of view held by the owners and advertisers. Were these efforts confined to the editorial page the responsibility of the school would not be so seriously affected. The practices which necessitate especial training of youth not to be influenced against their own interests and those of the country at large, are those having to do with the selection, wording and arrangement of the news pages and the

headlines. The situation is essentially the same with regard to weekly or monthly periodicals, although the details vary somewhat. With the exception of a few periodicals characterized by little advertising, relatively prohibitive subscription price and consequent small circulation, periodicals in which discussions of economic and political matters are found, belong almost uniformly to one school of thought. Articles and editorials are, in general, not written or accepted for publication with the object of presenting impartial review or information, but of shaping public opinion. Whatever may be their educational value, they are definitely propaganda.

It is therefore not an unmixed blessing that we have become a nation of regular readers. By that very attainment we are subject to influences which cannot be ignored. In order that attempts at indoctrination do not hamper too seriously the efforts of individuals to promote their own and the general welfare, future citizens must be trained in the schools to be discriminating readers, independent in thought and well informed concerning all the issues of the day.

Starting with a few thousand primitive sets, the radio expanded so rapidly from 1925 to 1932 that at the latter day there were more than 16,000,000 sets in this country—roughly one for every two families.* They are not, however, evenly distributed geographically or socially. In New Jersey, 63% of the families owned sets in 1932, as compared to 5% in Mississippi. In Birmingham, Alabama, 23% of the families had sets, while in several Alabama counties they were to be found in less than 2% of the

* Willey, Malcolm M., and Rice, Stuart A. "The Agencies of Communication," p. 211. Chapter IV in *Recent Social Trends*. McGraw-Hill, 1933. Statistics in this paragraph are taken from this report.

homes. This indicates how far in one area we have failed to pass on technological gains to the citizens of our democracy and how great is the unexploited domestic market for certain types of products.

"Mass impression on so vast a scale has never before been possible. The individual, the figures show, increasingly utilizes these media, and they inevitably modify his attitudes and behaviors. Greater possibilities for social manipulation, for ends that are selfish or socially desirable, have never existed. The major problem is to protect the interest and welfare of the individual and society."* The very fact that opinion on a national scale may be so sharply and quickly influenced, constitutes a flexibility that is significant more for its danger than for its probable benefits. With radio programs supported entirely by advertising, and in general available to any and all who can pay for the facilities, there can be no pretense at freedom from bias.

The radio not only furnishes problems for education, but it is also a potential educational asset, particularly in the fields of speech and appreciation of music, and a source of information in many fields of thought.

Changes in leisure demands and facilities as they affect education. It is unnecessary to support with statistics the statement that we enjoy more leisure than formerly. If we did not see it on every hand we would be forced to recognize it as a consequence of the fact that work days have shrunk from ten or twelve hours to an average of approximately eight, and that vacations have become the rule in a large percentage of occupations.

* Willey, Malcolm M., and Rice, Stuart A. "The Agencies of Communication," p. 215. Chapter IV in *Recent Social Trends*. McGraw-Hill, 1933.

For unemployed women and children the increase is even more marked. Many types of activities are no longer housework for the great majority of the population. The preparation of foods, even cooking to a considerable extent, and the constructive repair and cleaning of clothing have become specialized commercial activities. Electrical and other machines have reduced materially the time as well as the effort involved in performing those tasks still done in the home. "Chores" have all but disappeared for the great majority of young people.

Not only was there less actual leisure time in previous generations, though the daily work was without doubt more leisurely, but there existed tastes, modes and practices of spending leisure time in harmless enjoyment, now rapidly becoming extinct. Young people of today seem relatively unable to devise satisfactory methods of enjoying themselves when not in school and at work, save by engaging in activities socially destructive. Opportunities for outdoor sports, especially useful for children, have materially decreased as a result of the drift to the cities, where suitable vacant areas are not available.

There is, however, no lack of commercialized leisure activities. The cinema, public dance palaces, night clubs, road houses and cabarets, amusement parks, excursion boats and trains, gambling and game rooms and many other devices for parting both adults and youth from their money, have taken up much of today's extra leisure. On top of these came the radio with its programs of all types and levels—though predominantly of the lower ones—operating almost every hour of the day and night.

The problems thus presented are not primarily those arising from lack of opportunities for the expenditure of leisure time, but very definitely those having to do with

developing and extending attractive opportunities for the expenditure of spare time in pursuits which may be beneficial, or which at least will not exert degrading influences upon participants.

One important consequence of these developments is the increasing cost of leisure activities of youth. Along with the general rise in standards of living, there has been an even more rapid rise in the expense incidental to the program of leisure activities which permits the youth of today to hold his head up among his fellows and to avoid bitter brooding. It is no longer gratifying or satisfying to youth to participate in the homespun social activities of his fathers. Parties at home, sleigh rides, barn dances, husking bees and box suppers are gone. Instead there are auto rides, public dances, intercollegiate and other commercialized sports, night clubs, movies, gambling of a hundred kinds, and drinking. The cost of acceptable wearing apparel has leaped up, involving silk hose and a variety of coats, dresses, suits, hats and shoes. For the girls, the cost of permanent waves, hair cuts, neck trims, and cosmetics is many times the amount required by feminine youth of a generation ago. These financial obstacles to happiness are not insurmountable to the youth with well-to-do parents, or a job; but the effect upon the attitude toward himself and toward society of the unemployed youth in the lower economic levels, is destructive and vicious. These facts and trends constitute a challenge to educate young people to less expensive yet wholesome and satisfactory leisure tastes, and to provide at public expense opportunities for indulging in them.

The moving picture as it affects education. The moving picture is also an educational agency of comparatively recent development. It furnishes, in addition to an oppor-

tunity for expenditure of leisure time, rich and varied stimuli certain to influence the thinking and action of those who patronize it. Because of the universal appeal of such themes as physical conflict, sex, and dress, it places an exaggerated emphasis upon them. Its failure to give comparable place to coöperation and similar virtues fundamental to modern life naturally places those qualities at a disadvantage. It supplies what is probably an unfortunate incentive to luxurious living, beyond the possibilities of attainment by most people through ordinary and honest channels. By reason of the beauty and attractive qualities of its screen personnel it tends also to arouse dissatisfaction with one's actual relatives and associates. It furnishes a distinct challenge to effort on the part of the school to develop higher standards of taste in the field of drama. In its favor it must be admitted that it promulgates better standards of speech, home furnishings, personal mannerisms and appearance than are normally otherwise available to a very large percentage of its patrons.

In previous generations parents actively discouraged their children from reading cheap literature, not so much because of the low standards of literary taste it might develop, as because of the fear of the effect of the content upon the morals of the readers. Perhaps, as in the instance of cards and cigarettes, these good people strained at a gnat. It would seem so in the light of the sex-ridden and violent content of movies and the spicy love and sex stories sold extensively at most news stands.

The reading of this sort done by youth—and much is done—is not particularly strengthening to his moral fibre, nor calculated to mature his interest in the fields of public affairs, science, and culture. It is in youth and childhood that the basis must be laid for the leisure tastes and habits of adults.

Development of science and appreciation of scientific methods. In the latter half of the Nineteenth Century and the first third of the Twentieth advances in scientific and mechanical discovery and application have affected human life more than during any previous period of several centuries. The present world is a scientific and mechanical one. It is not necessary to review here the story of the almost miraculous transformation of life brought about in the last few decades by scientific and mechanical developments.

The new science has given direction to education. In order that, as adults, they may participate more fully in the benefits of science and invention, and contribute to their further advancement, young people must be given training far beyond that needed a generation ago. Intelligent purchase, operation and repair of the mechanical and scientific devices available for their use, as well as an appreciation of developments yet to come, and an insight into the social implications of scientific and mechanical change, call for special and lengthy preparation.

During the past two decades there has been a change in the attitude of the masses towards science and scientific procedure. Due in part to the obvious contribution of electrical, chemical, medical and other sciences to the comforts of life enjoyed more or less by all classes of people, and in part to the popularization of scientific information through the schools and the press, the large majority of people no longer scoff at "book larnin" and behavior based on scientific knowledge. Superstition and antagonism to science are retreating into the more inaccessible regions of the country.

People today are in fact becoming worshippers of science. While replacing superstition it retains its suggestion of black magic. Those who have for sale medicines, foods and many other types of merchandise, stress their

scientific preparation. Their advertisements are artificially and profusely filled with references to laboratories, doctors and professors, and with pictures of physicians, test tubes and other chemical apparatus. This condition of maladjustment of popular knowledge to scientific progress calls for an adaptation of the program of learning for youth.

Changes in religious life and their effects upon education. The nature and influence of religion and the church upon daily life have been undergoing significant change. Church and Sunday School attendance has fallen off, probably in part as a result of the competition of the radio, movie, automobile and out-door amusements, and because of a change in people's attitude toward the nature of the Sabbath. The church is no longer the center of community life it once was. Is it logical to suppose that the decreased contact of the church with the people has lessened its influence on their thinking and living?

Along with the decline in regular religious contacts and experience in church and home, the lessened emphasis upon fear and superstition has released human beings from what were very strong deterrents to unsocial or immoral conduct. Fear of a punitive God and of eternal suffering is disappearing and must be replaced by the development of ideals and attitudes. This change in the means of insuring desirable behavior places a heavy burden upon the social and ethical education of youth at a time when the normal opportunities of the church and home for education have been diminished. This has been partially offset by the increased number and influence of new educational groups and activities associated with the church—the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., the Knights of Columbus, comparable Jewish societies and such organizations as the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts and Camp Fire Girls.

These changes affect the problem and they also place upon the schools the responsibility of coördinating their program with those agencies religious or partly religious in character which are working toward objectives lying within the scope of those of the school.

Changes in government. As compared to those of today, the functions and operations of government a century ago were relatively simple. They have now been extended into highways, parks and playgrounds, education, health, sanitation, business, labor and agriculture, penal, eleemosynary and relief services, fire prevention and control, conservation of natural resources, standards of measurements and foods, and transportation. The burden of acquainting young people with all the services of the government has materially increased, as has the problem of preparing them to take intelligent positions with reference to all the issues raised by the extension of governmental activities. The hugeness of the army of government employees and the importance of their services, both greatly increased in recent years, challenges a popular intelligence to solve the problem of how to shift from a basis of political patronage to one of selection, retention, and promotion on the basis of merit.

These greatly expanded government services are possible only through increased taxation. The need for greater revenues, together with the movement of wealth from the land to productive and commercial enterprises and securities, and the consequent concentration of wealth in the cities, has created and intensified problems of taxation, calling for the diffusion of information and the development of orientation in this field among all citizens.

Co-incident with these trends there has been a pronounced shift of responsibility from leaders to the entire

population. As evidence of this trend, we may note the popular election of United States Senators, the increased use of primary elections and, most significant of all, the extension of the suffrage to women.

Changes in rural life. The rural community today is much less "rural" than its predecessors. The movie, radio, telephone, automobile, good roads, rural free delivery of mail and other recent developments, tend to break down the lines of distinction between rural and urban people. There is much more homogeneity than formerly in appearance, speech, interests and tastes, leisure pursuits, knowledge and attitudes. This elevation of standards for rural people adds to the task of their education.

With the development of efficiency in farm production, and of national and international interdependence, the problems of farm people have shifted from production to marketing. The nature of education for successful farming has therefore changed from concentration upon animal husbandry and crops, to include—in fact to emphasize—training in economics and political science, and particularly in current events and developments.

The transfer of wealth from rural to urban centers has significance for the support of education, as well as for the financing of its governing bodies. The development of highways and automobiles has increased the possibilities for better schools far faster than advantage has been taken of them. The meager program of education offered to youth in general, emphasizing a "highbrow" and college course never suited to the needs of rural youth, may now very well give way to modern programs uneconomical or impossible in small rural schools.

Changes in American ideals and philosophy. Further

changes, throwing much light on our educational problems, are those which have taken place in our predominant ideals and typical American philosophy. In the pioneer epoch of our national history now drawing to a close, it was natural that unusual importance would be attached to those virtues so necessary in a pioneer period. In a day of the exploration and settling of new lands, of building new enterprises in new regions, individual strength was paramount. Coöperation was not only necessarily limited to small and more or less isolated groups, but comparatively it was needless and impossible. Independence, self-reliance, and initiative were the mainstays of the pioneer.

However much the characteristics which gave us modern America may be enshrined in our hearts, we are now entering an epoch in which it seems that these virtues are of somewhat less relative importance. They must be so developed as to operate within the bounds set by the dependence upon coöperation for continued progress. Education today must develop other and less primitive and natural virtues. In order to carry on the magnificent work of their fathers and grandfathers, youth of today must possess another set of virtues, based upon the coöperative character of their age as differentiated from the more individualistic epoch which preceded it.

It was almost inevitable that in an age of exploration and pioneering marked by the astounding mechanical and commercial developments which have taken place within a single lifetime, materialism would be emphasized out of all logical proportion. Possession of material goods and power has come to be universally sought with an intensiveness which cannot be justified on the basis of the guarantees of happiness these acquisitions can give. As a result, the

American people have failed to utilize other types of opportunities for happiness and enjoyment of life to their fullest extent. The schools have the opportunities to develop perspective and a scale of values and appropriate tastes, skills and knowledge, which will open many avenues to happiness not now being employed.

V

A PROGRAM OF UNIVERSAL SECONDARY EDUCATION

THE NEED FOR UNIVERSAL AND CONTINUED EDUCATION

UNTIL recently a belief has prevailed that although universal training in the three R's and patriotism is a legitimate goal to be achieved as quickly as possible, secondary education need be acquired by no more than a portion of all citizens—those destined to be leaders. Former President Hoover and a large number of other national leaders have appreciated the necessity in America for the education of the entire citizenry beyond the level which might suffice in non-democratic societies. In his inaugural address President Hoover pointed out that literacy was not enough, because the leadership of the country must be drawn from the entire population. The often quoted statement of President Madison that democracy without education is a prologue either to farce or tragedy, or both, is typical of the beliefs, held by men of vision in national affairs from Franklin on, concerning the implications of democracy for education. The essential idea of democracy is that those who govern are responsible to the electorate. This means much more than literacy or elementary education.

That democracy has operated so awkwardly, even in the days when the democratic ideals generated by the revolution still burned brightly, is of course largely attributable to the incompetence and ignorance of the sovereign people. With the increased complexity incident to the

evolution of modern economic, political and international structures and functions, the need for education has been correspondingly augmented. Domestic and international interdependence have multiplied the number and complexities of political issues and problems. The increased influence of propaganda by myriad groups, each with its own particular point of view, makes continuously increasing demands upon popular education in terms of skills and habits in defensive, clear reasoning. If every citizen were to have the equivalent of a high school education emphasizing these outcomes, this would possess but a minimum preparation for modern economic and political conditions and influences operating under a democratic form of government.

As a means of testing this theory and of demonstrating the dangers inherent in conditions not in conformity to it, the recent depression has afforded excellent laboratory facilities. There has been opportunity to bring into relief the startling perils in times of economic crisis, inherent in a democracy whose citizens are not educated in proportion to the needs of the issues. A large portion of the population has been stampeded by the promises and threats of insincere leaders into distinctly dangerous campaigns. Unsound and hollow plans of social justice, wealth sharing, old-age pensions, and state control of productive enterprises have found millions of victims, as have the hypocritical jingoists and witch-burners who have satisfied their desires for publicity or political glory by pointing accusing fingers, crying "wolf!" and labeling patriotic citizens of high social ideals "Reds," "Communists" or "Radicals." Nationwide organizations such as the Black Legion, the Silver Shirts and others, with purposes and principles squarely opposed to those which have been treasured tradi-

tionally by America, have capitalized ignorance and selfishness to the point of becoming national menaces and threats to the prevailing government. The threat to safety, to prosperity and to security that lies in a democracy without adequate *universal education* can be seen without unusual powers of insight.

It seems almost providential that along with the increase in complexity of the political issues and problems of the American people have come conditions which make it possible to give increased educational opportunities to all the people. Not only have our greater national and per capita wealth and income been multiplied by the technological advances which have given rise to many of our problems, and complicated others, but these same developments have also decreased the need for the utilization of the services of young people in vocational activities. As a matter of fact, the problem, instead of being one of wresting from young people the time they would spend on education, is rapidly becoming one of what to do with the time of those for whom we do not seem able to provide vocational life.

Can all youth profit by schooling? It does not seem worth while to dwell long on the statement so often made that not all boys and girls should go to high school because they cannot profit by its offerings. *If it is desirable to give further education to youth, and youth is available or can be made available to participate in it, the school must be so adjusted as to be suitable for the enlarged constituency.* It is idle, and indicative of a narrow vision and little imagination, to think in terms of a fixed secondary school program to which all pupils must be adapted. That there has not already been developed a more flexible, many-phased program of secondary education, in no way

weakens the logic of the position that universal secondary education is necessary. It merely raises interesting questions concerning the extent to which the professional training of teachers and administrators has concentrated upon technical devices to the exclusion of basic philosophy, and illustrates the futility of leaving entirely to teachers with their meager and narrow technical training fundamental questions and issues affecting the general welfare.

The principal lesson to be learned from the protest that a great portion of the youths not in school today—and many who are—do not belong in high schools, as they are now organized, is that we need to review critically the schools of today with a view to supplementing them and their curricula with new institutions or with new curricula within existing institutions, or both, adapted to the needs, interests and capacities of the new constituency.

What we know concerning variations among unselected youth does not warrant the conclusion that there is any considerable proportion of individuals not able to learn. The problem is partly one of their willingness to try to learn, and partly one of developing different learning materials adapted to the varying abilities to learn. These abilities differ qualitatively as well as quantitatively. Learners not only vary in general capacity, but apparently there are also variations within the individual in abilities to learn different types of things—mechanical, verbal, scientific, intellectual, emotional, manual, artistic, etc. The ability to learn any particular subject is conditioned by relative interests which vary widely with the individual and which in turn result in a further variation in the individual's learning capacities in different fields. It has been the experience of college guidance officers that the success of many young people is partly a matter of their getting into a

curriculum which fires their enthusiasm. Failures in some fields often become successes in others.

The selective character of secondary education today. There is clear-cut proof, from a large number of investigations, that secondary education has been and still is definitely selective. Those who go through secondary schools, as compared to those who do not persist beyond the elementary school, or first years of secondary education, are brighter and come mostly from the upper levels of economic and occupational status. There is also abundant evidence that selection takes place on the basis of race, nationality and place of residence.

We know that Negroes, especially in the South, do not attend secondary schools in nearly so large a proportion as do white boys and girls, a condition in no small part due to the failure of Southern whites adequately to provide secondary education for Negroes. Children whose origins are in countries of Southern Europe do not remain in school so long as those whose ancestors came from Northern Europe. The percentage of children who will remain in school past the compulsory age has been shown in several investigations to be much greater for those whose fathers are employed in professional or managerial positions, than for those whose fathers are unskilled or skilled laborers or farmers. In rural areas the percentage finishing high school is less than in urban centers. In certain states, particularly those of the Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountains, the ratio of enrollment in public high schools to that of public elementary schools is more than 1 to 3, being 2 to 5 in Utah and Washington, while in the typical Southern state the ratio is less than 1 to 5—less than 1 to 7 in Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina.

It would be interesting and profitable to identify the

causes of these marked variations between groups of young people with respect to their tendency to withdraw from school with no more than an elementary education. However, such identification is not crucial at this point, and cannot be accurately made. One of the more important certain factors is the difference among states, and between urban and rural communities, as to their ability to support secondary education. Others can be traced to traditions and habits of divergent nativity groups, to variations in sparseness of population and in accessibility of schools in different geographical areas, and to differences in economic and occupational levels.

Universal secondary education as part of a national program. There are those who approach the question of the extension of secondary education to include all youth of high school age from the angle of the *rights* of children to these advantages, and there is much to be said for this point of view. In a truly democratic philosophy, it may be assumed that all individuals "have a right" to participate in the scientific and social gains of civilization, to whatever extent it is possible to make them universally available without injury to any person or any institution. To entertain a fear that universal secondary education would affect our institutions in ways other than to accelerate the progressive evolution already going on is not logical. Whether or not we can afford the financial support necessary for universal secondary education is another question, the discussion of which will be taken up in a later section of this book.

The most important consideration, however, is not the right of the individual to free secondary education, but the necessity for a democratic society to provide it and insist upon it. The principle is not novel nor peculiar to

our times or society. In every modern, important nation, those charged with the promotion of national welfare and the direction of national policies have provided an education thought to be—though it rarely fully is—adapted to the needs of the particular society and type of government. This is true today in Italy, Germany, Russia, and Japan especially, and in every other country to a lesser degree. In the United States, committed to democracy and a progressive but gradual evolution of society and social institutions, the demands laid upon public education are not less, but greater, inasmuch as we are not concerned with educating a citizenry to conform to a highly definite and fixed social order, but with preparing a people who will be able to maintain adequate adjustment with constantly changing economic, social and scientific conditions, and who will participate in determining the directions and speed of change. It is on this basis, rather than upon the “inalienable right” of children to secondary school education, that universal secondary education seems not only justifiable, but indispensable.

This discussion now comes to the question of the child's right to attend secondary school as long as he wishes. The issue has become acute as a result of the influx into the high schools of young people who have no other place to go. Many of these young people do not make serious efforts to avail themselves of the educational advantages open to them, and teachers and principals, as well as taxpayers, suspect that the use of public funds to provide unwanted educational opportunities is not justified by the results, and that such pupils should not be permitted to divert the resources of the school from those who wish to learn.

Perhaps the problem is not so simple as that. Certainly

it is not so simple as it was when employment was available to all those who did not wish to go to school and to those whom the school did not wish to retain. A generation ago, officials were competing with employers for the time of the adolescents of the country. Today we are faced with the probable continuance of the situation which now exists, namely, that more than one youth in four, that is, approximately more than 5,000,000 from 16 to 24 years of age, are neither in school nor employed. Of these, approximately 3,000,000 are from 16 to 20 years of age. Until that doubtful time when vocational life can absorb all young people of these ages who do not fit into our present educational structure and institutions, some provision must be made to occupy them in pursuits useful to society and satisfying to themselves. Recognition of this necessity is implied in the organization of the CCC camps, which, though possibly not yet of great educational value and reaching only a small minority of youth, are certain to reduce materially the damage to society and to the individual resulting from enforced idleness. An important service of this sort of stop-gap is to call attention to the need for readjustment of the public schools to new conditions.

Selection of pupils vs. adaptation of the school to the pupil. One cannot say today that the child or youth beyond a given age of 16 or 18 who no longer seriously attempts to make satisfactory school progress has forfeited his right to further education. One must examine each such case from two completely different angles—the nature of the youth and the possibilities of the school. There are many youths not now in school, including those in CCC camps, who would not apply themselves sufficiently in the secondary schools as they exist today to produce results warranting their continuance in school. Yet the CCC mem-

bers do learn some things and they are undoubtedly better off (as is society) in camp, than they would be were they drifting aimlessly in a jobless world, susceptible to the mental and moral degeneration engendered by feelings of futility, frustration, and social and economic injustice which come from enforced idleness.

When a youth is no longer willing to apply himself to one type of curriculum, it should be possible for him to find his place in one of a different nature, more suited to his temperament. Such training might not be so valuable to him in the long run, but it is better for him than to be in the dilemma now under consideration by so many school people and tax payers,—namely, will he profit sufficiently by remaining in schools as they now exist, or should he be asked or compelled to withdraw? The question really is: *Should society look to those in charge of our public schools for the development of plans for the education of the new pupil constituency, or should it develop a new type of institution and personnel which may or may not be thought of as a secondary school, but which, nevertheless, will have as its concern the education of young people of senior high school and junior college age?*

It is conceivable that for such youths in sparsely settled areas no adequate provision can be made which will permit them to live at home. It may be necessary to establish regional camps, similar to the CCC camps, which will provide in addition to well-planned educational facilities an opportunity for those who attend them to earn their board, room, clothing, medical attention, and a few dollars monthly. It is possible that such institutions may be necessary in areas more thickly settled, or even in cities. It is also probable that there would yet remain the individual who will not coöperate in any device of any type for im-

proving himself and preserving his morale. If to exclude these latter from the advantages of public education after successive failures in different types of schools or curricula may be interpreted as denying the right of all youth to remain in school as long as they wish, then to that extent the right to exclude must be conceded. No doubt there will always be a place in the industrial, agricultural or domestic phases of life for a million or more between 16 and 20 who belong in this category. Today, several millions are so employed.

Reasonable certainty exists concerning a few things relative to this question. The present organization of secondary schools, curricula, and teachers, does not constitute an educational environment suitable to all youths as long as they may wish to remain in school. To employ the existing educational facilities in such a capacity is to overestimate both the flexibility of the schools,—which have been pitched well above a third or fourth of those already attending them—and the intellectual ability and industry of the lower half of the total youth population. New schools or new curricula must be established. A new type of teacher, more broadly trained and more broadly interested in everyday human affairs is demanded. *One of the greatest contributions open to those wishing to render educational service today is the organization of a number of experimental and demonstration schools which will establish a method of effectively taking care of this class of young people previously leaving school before the age of 16.*

The "Storage" and the "All or None" fallacies. The present and future conditions relative to the lack of employment for youth, and the needs of a complex, interdependent, democratic society, make universal secondary education a logical and desirable goal. Likewise, the needs of

a flexible democracy and the increased leisure resulting from technological advances, argue for and make possible the continuation of education throughout life. In the past, unfortunately, education was thought of as something for children only. Perhaps that fallacy is the result of confusing education with the meager, narrow schooling in the "three R's" and the linguistic training which characterized our earlier schools.

Until recent years, school education was a brief though important supplement to the informal education of man begun in the home and continued throughout life in normal activities. No doubt this narrow interpretation of education and the possibilities of the schools, probably brought about by the necessity in earlier times of devoting so much of the time of adults to the production of the necessities of life, diverted thought from the desirability of providing educational opportunities for people other than children and headed it in the direction of what we may well call the "storage" concept of education.

The principal underlying theory of the "storage" concept is that sufficient knowledge and training may be acquired in childhood to meet the needs of the rest of life. When confronted with the known facts about forgetting, which wipes out within a very few years most of the accumulation of factual acquisitions, the adherents to this concept take refuge in the myths of mental discipline as a means of justifying the *status quo* in secondary education.

Closely associated with this impractical concept is our "all or none" policy. This policy, which has been rather generally followed in practice, irrespective of any consideration of its suitability to our needs, makes no provision for the *gradual* shifting of the adolescent from the school world of books and blackboard to the adult of

ballots, bread-and-butter earning, and home making. As it operates today, the child is not permitted to participate, except very incidentally, in the responsibilities of work, home, or government, until he has finished his formal schooling. Then, having spent full time, to the age of 16 or thereabouts, in school, he is expected to shift suddenly, on full time, into the workaday world.

It is extremely doubtful if this arrangement can be justified. In the first place, the value of much that is and should be taught at school depends upon the degree to which the learner is able to correlate it in application to the outside world. Lacking in experience of that world, he never realizes much of the potential value of his learning. Much of their school "education" is forgotten by pupils before they have acquired sufficient acquaintance with its relations to life to enable them to assimilate it and to consolidate their gains. Learning and life, if the former is to be of real value, must be thoroughly interrelated.

As Charles H. Judd, psychologist of long international standing and head of the department of education at the University of Chicago, has pointed out, the extent to which things learned are applied later on is governed by the ability of the learner to generalize, to carry over the ideas from the situations and conditions in which they are acquired to other situations and conditions. Unfortunately, this power of generalization is not generously bestowed by nature on the great mass of human beings, and it is not wise to build a school program upon any theory which assumes that it is.

Children because of their immaturity and lack of experience in certain areas of adult activities are incapable of grasping many things which men and women should learn early in life. Examples of these in health, home-making

and social science are legion. To teach 14- or 15-year-old children what every adult should know about American history and government, American ideals and institutions, and economics is almost a hopeless task, and we should not deceive ourselves by assuming that the bookish facts which they reproduce during examinations have great significance for them. To the 14- or 15-year-old boy or girl responsibilities of fatherhood and motherhood, and taking part in decisions on national and international policies seem to be so far in the vague future as to arouse little interest or concern. To children of 15 or 16 the statement that within a few years they will be mothers, fathers, citizens, workers, and leaders carrying forward the responsibilities now borne by their elders seems quite plausible, but it is little more to them than an abstraction, the reality and implications of which they are unable to realize or feel. To young men and women of 18 or 20, those responsibilities begin to take on reality and to possess personal significance, especially if they have been employed in vocational pursuits. They have begun to live in an adult world.

Coöperative education and employment of youth. It would seem then, that a truly sound program of education for at least half of our youth would involve participation in both school and out-of-school vocational activities in approximately equal proportions, after the age of 16 or thereabouts. Such a program has two points of strength. It provides for a much closer association of youth and adults in situations of adult activity—thus compensating for the decrease in these associations which has taken place in the last century. In the second place, by reason of materially lessened school expenditures as compared with the cost of full-time school attendance for all youth until

employed on full time, as well as by reason of the opportunity of youth to earn at least a major part of the necessities of life, it makes it possible for young men and women to remain in school until the early twenties. This in itself is much to be desired. The value of experience in the non-school world in assimilating school training has just been mentioned. It should be equally obvious that the interests in the capacities for understanding certain types of education increase with maturity, as experience with adult education has shown.

In addition it must not be overlooked that the extension of compulsory full-time attendance at school of youth imposes upon parents the burden of a prolonged period of dependency. The cost of support of children mounts rapidly after the age of 14. Costs are multiplied in the areas of clothing, amusement and personal appearance as well as in the basic needs of food and shelter. It would seem that if compulsory school attendance were to be extended beyond the age of 16, some sort of subsidy in cases of needy families similar to that provided now by the National Youth Administration must be developed. If youth beyond the age of 16 are afforded the opportunity of earning their own expenses while they continue their education on half-time, the hardships imposed upon parents by compulsory legislation will be in large part eliminated. In addition it will then no longer be necessary for youth to resort to illegitimate means to obtain the purchasing power involved in the typical leisure and social life of American youth of this age.

It is not difficult to appreciate the value of helping each youth to find his place in grown-up activities, and meet his problems of the first few years under the guidance of some competent adult or agency. At present, the great mass

of young people enjoy a distinctly ineffective service in this connection. It is unfortunately true that the majority of parents, particularly those in lower economic levels, have relatively little to offer, while most of the others are quite inept at guiding children. In its own interests, as well as out of compassion for and sympathy with bright-eyed but unseeing youth—men and women in body and in responsibilities, but babes in experience—society should seek to reduce the social waste and personal grief incident to the groping of young people in the new and strange world. If these young people can be kept in contact with the school for their first years of participation in adult life, guidance services of inestimable value in matters of occupation, education, health, recreation, home-making and other fields may be developed. It should be unnecessary to review here the very significant changes which have taken place recently in commercialized amusement and vice, in increased leisure, in unemployment, in urbanization and its attendant dangers, and in many other directions—all of which multiply markedly the opportunities for failure, delinquency and maladjustments of young people in the new world, and which therefore increase the need for greater guidance and help.

No formal school education acquired in childhood and youth, however valuable, is adequate training for the needs of life. This truth should assist us in recognizing the futility of our illogical and fallacious educational theories and practices which center around the "storage" or "all or none" concepts of schooling. We have progressed beyond that stage in which adults flattered themselves that they no longer needed to study, that schooling was a thing for children and scholars, not for red-blooded men and women. This was an attitude characteristic of pioneer days

and of pioneer men and women who preferred the simple richness of non-school life to any rigorous application of their minds to tasks not connected with their immediate needs. As our civilization advances out of its "growing-pains" stage, our thinking on these matters should become more mature and practical.

Today the average youth is leaving school at the age of 16 and at the end of the ninth grade, but the trend is toward full-time attendance until 18 and the conclusion of the eleventh or twelfth grade. This will entail much greater increase in full-time enrollment and in school expenditures. That this trend should continue is debatable. *Better than universal full-time attendance until 18, and perhaps less expensive, would be full-time attendance until 16 and half-time attendance until 20 or 21.* It is not even certain that we can develop a full-time program that would interest the type of boy or girl who does not now continue in school beyond the age of 16. It is certain that the bookish and artificial vocational programs now prevalent would not interest that type of youngster who prefers to live a life much richer in action, more real, and more concerned with adult activities and interests. It is questionable if any life made up chiefly of educational activities which does not provide for work experiences can be made to appeal to young people whom nature and social tradition have ripened and made ready for entrance into normal adulthood.

It is legitimate to question whether, in the cities especially, schools on the one hand and employers on the other will coöperate in making such a program possible, but to answer it negatively without careful and long-continued efforts and experiments is not wise. Both educators and employers must be taught to see their responsibilities and interests in such matters, and if necessary stimu-

lated a bit by favorable legislation and subsidies. If, in the interests of society, compulsory full-time attendance at school and the regulation of child labor have been achieved in a practical way, the extension of those provisions to promote and encourage a coöperative vocation and school program is not beyond the intelligence, ingenuity, or sense of social responsibility of the American people of this age. The employment conditions prevailing today and the frame of mind of the people are peculiarly favorable to the undertaking of this new adjustment of the vocational and the school life of youth.

The inadequacy of continuation and evening schools. The National Survey of Secondary Education reveals that about 30 per cent of the 300,000 youth attending continuation school courses are in school for no more than four hours' instruction a week, and another 35 per cent for no more than eight hours. These youngsters are at work on full-time jobs. The impossibility of rendering any great educational service under these conditions is obvious. The same may be said with respect to the evening high schools in which over a million people are enrolled, though half of these are not youths, 50 per cent of them being 23 years of age or older. A much more desirable situation would be one in which millions of those older youths attend school for three hours a day, pursuing a balanced program of education for vocation, citizenship, home-membership, leisure and health.

Compulsory attendance. In 42 of the 48 states a child may leave school at 14 if he is able to find employment—in some 20 states even though he may not have completed elementary school.* A few states require no more than literacy. Some require attendance for no more than five

* *Compulsory School Attendance Laws and Their Administration*, U. S. Office of Education, Bulletin, 1935, No. 4.

months each year. On the other hand, in Ohio, Nevada and Utah, a child not possessing a work permit is required to attend school full-time until he is 18 years of age or has completed the twelfth grade, although in Nevada and Utah work permits may be obtained after the age of 14, and in Ohio after the age of 16. In the education of every child there are several interests at stake: those of the child himself, those of his family, those of his community, and those of the state and nation. None of these should be sacrificed too greatly for the others.

As far as the child is concerned, it is questionable whether his interests would be best served by his failing to remain in school until he is 16 years of age. Those of subnormal mental abilities should perhaps be made wards of society in some type of educational institution until the age of 18 or 20.

The rights and interests of parents are not so clearly defined or comprehended. Without question, both because of their affection and their responsibility for the support of their children, parents do have important interests and rights. It seems to many, however, that although the child's rights and interests in his own care and education are paramount, in the past they have been illogically subordinated to the desires of the parent. The almost unlimited powers of parents over children are due to the necessity of dictator-like guardianship by some mature and responsible person and agency, and for this the parent seems best fitted. The right which needs to be respected is the right of the child to the most favorable protection and guidance, to which the right of the parent to authority and jurisdiction is a means to an end. The notion is growing that the state must be more active in guaranteeing to the child a guardianship more intelligent and devoted to

his interests than can be assured by the great proportion of parents. There is, therefore, a growing recognition of the desirability of guaranteeing to the child as well as to the nation, by legal means, the minimum conditions for physical and mental health, and a reasonable educational preparation for citizenship, vocation and home-membership.*

The rights and interests of a community cannot be denied or ignored, but, like the family, the community in a great proportion of instances cannot be trusted to safeguard its own interests, much less provide adequately for the best interests of its children and the nation. It follows, naturally, that not only should the several states maintain minimum standards, but, if there be any strings attached to Federal subsidies for equalizing educational opportunities among the states, they should be such as will motivate the less progressive states to provide that children shall attend school until a later age and insure in a number of states a longer minimum school term than now prevails.†

* An excellent and longer discussion presenting arguments *pro* and *con* of this issue may be found in *Issues of Secondary Education*. Report of the Committee on the Orientation of Secondary Education, Department of Secondary School Principals, National Education Association. Thomas H. Briggs, Chairman Bulletin No. 59, February, 1936, p. 31-129.

† *Secondary School Population*, Monograph No. 4 of the National Survey of Secondary Education. U. S. Office of Education, Bulletin, 1932, No. 17, Chapter II.

VI

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS

WE HAVE been primarily concerned, up to this point, with the basic philosophy to which the program of secondary education should be adjusted, the objectives of education appropriate to that philosophy, the principal features and trends of our society for which we are educating young people, the individual needs of youth as they are likely to experience them, for some time to come, and the question of universal secondary education.

We come now to a more direct consideration of the details of organization and programs of the schools. Of these there are so many promising alternatives that a description of them all would run into several volumes. The American Youth Commission and those interested in problems of the education of youth in the large are not vitally interested in making a detailed canvass of all of them. There may be identified, however, a number of implications of the philosophy of secondary education which, if that philosophy be sound, should characterize modern secondary education in any form of organization. For the purposes of review, these may be considered under the following groupings: (1) curriculum, (2) methods of instruction and examination, (3) organization of the schools, (4) the instructional and administrative staff, (5) extra-curricular services of the school, and (6) means of financial support.

CURRICULUM

1. Courses of study should be developed and so organized that they will provide all students with a

balanced program for the various principal objectives of education—citizenship, home-leadership, leisure, vocation, health, and continued effective study. All programs should therefore include instruction in social studies, biological and natural sciences, literature, physical and health education, and aesthetic studies and arts.

2. The subjects offered in high school, as well as their contents, should be selected for a student body made up of all the youths of secondary school age, and in this respect should be somewhat different from the curriculum of the secondary school of the past generation which was a highly selective institution. The implications centering around this idea are particularly meaningful for the fields of mathematics, science, literature, art and music.

3. In schools large enough to permit it to be done economically, a sufficient variety of courses should be offered to provide an orientation in all the principal fields of human knowledge, the exploration of the talents of youth in various types of activity, and adjustment of instructional materials and methods to the variations in capacities found in an unselected population of young people.

4. Those courses which are justified primarily on the basis of their contribution to preparation for university and college should be given in the later years of the secondary education—grades 11 through 14, where those who do not remain beyond the compulsory full-time attendance age will not be found.

5. The program for youth, particularly of ages 16 to 20, should take note of the strong normal impulse to find a place in the "real" activities of life. This is the age at which for thousands of years youth has taken up adult activities of life,—vocational, economic, domestic, military, and political. In all previous societies, the vast majority of young people have become, by their twenty-first year,

home makers, if not parents, and full-fledged participants in all adult activities. It is not practical, save for the exceptional boy or girl genuinely interested in academic life, to expect that these normal longings of youth, built up over many centuries, can be repressed indefinitely without serious loss to society and to the individual. More important than book information is the conservation of the morale and of the normal feelings and attitudes of responsibility. It is therefore of exceeding importance that the educational program of youth be so formulated that he may lead at least something of the life which his instincts demand.

6. The organization of the curriculum should not be restricted by any arbitrary standard pattern such as the five-times-a-week, 36 to 40 weeks a year scheme of recitations, but should be as flexible in this regard as seems best, including, as in European schools, two-hour, three-hour and four-hour a week classes.

7. In the organization of the curriculum, adequate provision should be made for a functional, cultural training. This should not be squeezed out by the traditional pressures for vocational and college preparatory training. Any adequate program of education involves learning in fields primarily contributory to the understanding and appreciation of the world in which we live—social, scientific, recreational, and aesthetic.

8. In a country in which the economic and political problems are so definitely subject to democratic controls and in which no more than 400,000 young people of the possible 2,500,000, start to college each year, a much larger proportion of the curriculum of grades 9 through 12 should be given over to the social studies—economics, sociology, and political science.

9. The school must provide effective training for voca-

tional life. This does not mean training for specific jobs. These are so numerous and the techniques are so frequently outmoded as to make any program of school education for them impractical. Moreover, in the majority of occupations these special techniques may be learned on the job in a few weeks. The vocational training provided in schools must, in spite of much superficial popular opinion, be *general* and *basic* with a view to *broad application* and to providing education of a sort not easy to acquire on the job.

It is definitely questionable whether the school should attempt to extend its *specific* vocational offerings beyond a few fields each of which should be:

- a.* one employing a fairly good percentage of workers in the locality and in the country as a whole,
- b.* one in which the vocational processes which may be taught in schools are not likely to be outmoded within the lifetime of the pupils in school today,
- c.* one in which the vocational processes can be taught in the school more effectively or more economically, or both, than in the vocation itself. It is doubtful whether the school should take over from the shop, farm, office or store, training in those specific vocational skills which can be adequately provided as a part of the vocational experience of the worker.

The possibilities of vocational contributions of the so-called non-vocational subjects—science, mathematics, English, and social studies—have not been fully realized. There is a peculiar advantage possessed by subject matter which is not so specific but that it retains a wide field of possible applications. On the other hand, if the content

of subjects studied is too abstract and too far removed from its applications, it makes demands upon the powers of imagination and generalization which render the subject matter relatively meaningless and useless for at least a majority of the unselected school population.

In practice, our secondary school curricula have tended to the two extremes of education—"academic" and "vocational." For reasons implied in the foregoing paragraphs, and because it is impossible to determine by any means yet devised for what position any given boy or girl is best fitted, as well as by reason of the fact that a large percentage of workers do not follow the line of work for which they originally prepared themselves, the secondary school should not fail to address itself to the adaptation of the "regular" subjects to the objective of preparation for vocational life. Nor should it fail to emphasize practical preparation for non-vocational life in every vocational curriculum.

10. The curriculum must make provision for the development of necessary and desirable attitudes, skills, tastes, ideals, appreciations, and habits, and it should not be disproportionately directed toward the acquisition of information. Neither culture nor education is as narrow as knowledge, and practice must recognize the danger of the prevailing confusion in this respect.

11. The content of courses of study should not, in the interest of the economy of artificially logical organization, be as much divorced from their applications and relations to each other as are prevailing secondary school courses.

12. In the effort to prepare young people for adult life, the curriculum must not neglect to provide training for solving the immediate problems and difficulties of young people. Preparation for the youthful years is as legitimate

and necessary as preparation for adult life, and it possesses much more reality and significance for the young learner.

13. The curriculum need not include subjects, or aspects of them, merely because they have made significant contributions to civilization. It is impractical to confuse, as is so commonly done, such values with the utility of subject matter for the education of the masses of young people today, however essential it may be that a small number of experts be well trained in these matters.

14. The natural interest of the pupil in his own individual welfare must not be permitted to influence unduly the program of instruction. By reason of limited experience and lack of ability to know his own long-run needs, the "felt-needs" of youth do not alone constitute a safe guide to educational requisites. The value of instruction primarily concerned with the needs of society should not be underestimated, and the social outcomes must be adequately provided for in secondary education.

15. The adjustment of instruction to individual differences does not necessarily imply a greatly varied assortment of different courses, but rather variations in each of a small number of courses in a few fields of knowledge essential to all. Instead of offering many branches of study, it would be better practice to offer a small number of well adapted versions of each, for the bright, the ordinary, and the slow minds.

16. There is, however, need for sufficient variation in lines of study so that students with peculiar talents or disabilities, interests or antipathies along literary, musical, artistic, manual, domestic, agricultural, scientific or social lines may not only have the opportunity for study in appropriate directions but may be freed from discouraging and unpleasant failures in non-essential fields.

17. For a large percentage of youth it is a subject

worthy of experimentation to determine whether a more informal curriculum and teaching method may not be more effective than the highly organized, authoritative system so commonly employed in schools today. Such a method, employed in the Grecian academies of Plato and other Greek teachers of youth, involves informal talks and discussions, a minimum of books, and an emphasis upon oral and concrete materials. The experience of the Danish Folk High Schools also encourages experiments in this method. It is doubtful if any more logical and rigorous methods would succeed with many of those young people who formerly left school soon after the coming of adolescence. Those in charge of CCC camps have had corroborative experience.

18. The curricula of secondary schools must be built for the needs of the great mass of youth who will not go to college. Terminal curricula involving training in vocation and in general culture and orientation should parallel the traditional college courses intended for those who remain four years in college. This is particularly needed as a consequence of the failure of the colleges and universities to develop two-year terminal courses. There may be listed readily scores of vocations for which a one- or two-year preparation period beyond the twelfth grade will suffice and for which the colleges make no definite provision. Among these may be mentioned orchardist, stock-raiser, florist, library assistant, bank teller, retail merchant, photographer, embalmer, watchmaker, surveyor, real-estate and insurance salesmen, commercial artist, secretarial worker, landscape gardener, radio repairman, auto mechanic, hotel manager, rural school teacher, interior decorator, building contractor, cement tester, drug store manager, electrician, dentist's assistant, etc., etc.

19. Particularly for the newer recruits to secondary edu-

cation from those of less bookish minds, correlation of classroom activities with the immediate life of the community and community sources for learning—e.g., industries, homes, public utilities, local government, business, etc.,—must be utilized to far greater advantage than at present.

20. The influence of the school should extend further into the recreational life of youth. Summer camps, parks, playgrounds, swimming and skating facilities, reading, social and game equipment are necessary parts of a complete, healthful environment for youth. If made available, society bears the cost through one avenue or another; if not, society bears a greater cost in the long run. If provided as part of the plan for the care and education of youth, economies may be effected and the educational benefits better conserved.

21. Beginning at grade 8, or not later than grade 9, multiple curriculum organization should be started, probably providing for pupils of grades 8, 9, and 10 two curricula—one containing courses of a semi-vocational nature and courses in the so-called academic subjects emphasizing strongly the applications to vocational, civic, leisure, and domestic life, and one of a somewhat more intellectual type. Excepting vocational courses and those in foreign languages and mathematics beyond the simplest algebra, different subjects in these curricula are not contemplated, but in schools large enough to make it economical, different editions of the same subjects should be formulated for less verbal-minded students. For this latter group, the content should be of greatest value in all walks of life, and best adjusted to the capacities and interests of those of only ordinary book intelligence and interest.

22. The facilities of the school should not fail to include

services only indirectly educational but none-the-less essential to the conservation of the resources of youth. These include health and medical inspection and, in addition, free medical and dental service to children unable to pay, wholesome noon lunches and supplementary nourishment for children from homes unable to provide fully for it.

23. There should be great freedom available to high school teachers in selecting and arranging the content of courses of study. Compulsory state courses of study and statewide uniform textbooks at the high school level constitute obstacles rather than assistance to properly prepared high school teachers. As each teacher makes progress in a better understanding of the nature and problems of society and of youth, and of the schooling needed in the solution of those problems, he should be free to capitalize those gains without hindrance of superior authority or the limitations of standardization. State or regional examination systems which are to be found in a number of states, directed almost exclusively as they are toward the temporary acquisition of information and academic skills to the neglect of ideals, attitudes, interests, tastes, and personality should be abandoned.

24. In the selection of materials of instruction, teachers and administrators must keep their eyes focused upon the objectives of education and avoid the danger of concessions to pressure groups. It is to the teachers that youth must be able to look with confidence for impartial discussion of facts, issues, theories, and problems which must be faced today. Various types of organizations, patriotic, political, financial, industrial, military, and "subversive," must be resisted unequivocally in their attempts, often well intentioned, to employ the schools for purposes of propaganda, and to intimidate or trap teachers into failing to discharge

their responsibilities for fair and thorough orientation of youth in the more important problems confronting American citizenry.

25. The curriculum of the schools should not be confined to those areas in which the solution to the problems lying therein are known or upon which there is no disagreement among adults. The success of American democracy is contingent upon the orientation of future citizens in those fields which will insure a reasonable, sound basis for choosing among the alternatives available. Such choices they cannot avoid, nor can they delay until scientifically demonstrated answers to problems are available. It is not now possible, nor will it ever be, to validate political procedures in the same sense as we now know, or think we know, the answers to problems in natural science. Education is much more than "knowledge." It involves orientation and familiarity which render its possessor less susceptible to error.

26. Education for intelligent citizenship must be made the most important continuous subject in the curriculum. Comprehension of the greater social problems of this country is not to be obtained by a few short courses, but may be achieved only as the result of continued study. Instruction in the social studies should be given to every pupil every year he is in school, and there should be provided additional electives in history.

27. The teacher must be able to feel that his professional tenure does not depend upon his ability to select for instruction those things which will be acceptable to organized, partisan groups. In the interests of safe-guarding the road to democratic progress, the people must zealously protect the freedom of the teacher to lead discussion in all matters in which he has unusual competence.

28. As a corollary to the above principle, teachers should

regard it as unethical to attempt to shape the opinions of pupils along lines not agreed upon by at least a plurality of those whose training makes them especially competent in the particular field of knowledge involved. This, of course, should not be interpreted so as to discourage the exploration of controversial fields and problems which the student will soon have to face as an adult.

29. While in no way should the teacher be restricted in his constitutional rights of freedom of speech outside the classroom, as a practical means of preserving and extending his freedom as a specialist in the classroom, he should avoid controversy which is likely to diminish the confidence of lay people or to develop antagonisms likely to endanger his opportunities in the classroom. This principle should not be interpreted to suggest either any delimitation of the freedom of the teacher in the exercise of his franchise or any profession of beliefs in which he is not absolutely sincere.*

METHODS AND EXAMINATIONS

There are several methods of instruction, touched upon in the discussion of the curriculum, that merit especial attention here. Two basic ideas should perhaps be stated. *First*, methods prevailing in the schools today have been developed and validated for a selected population of youth on the whole more docile, more cooperative, more capable of thinking in abstract terms, less predisposed toward manual activities, more willing to sacrifice the present for future values, more sober of thought and speech, and more trustful than those who, formerly eliminated, are now coming into schools in increasingly larger numbers. These less conforming individuals, more inclined to find fun and

* An excellent discussion of certain curriculum issues, particularly vocational education, college preparatory curricula, and differentiation of curricula may be found in *Issues of Secondary Education*, p. 157-311.

humor in all situations, with more compelling desires to be physically active and to live in the present, usually impatient with books and abstractions, and less likely to favor an intellectual, disciplinary, and decorative education, were formerly eliminated to swell the masses who, though frequently becoming eminently successful in their vocations, almost invariably remained relatively ignorant and uncultured citizens. If we are now to educate this type of person, methods must be employed which are better adapted to his psychology.

Secondly, methods must be evaluated more for their total effect upon the individuals with whom they are employed and less for their effectiveness in getting a verbal mastery of textbooks. Methods, for example, are hardly meritorious which encourage the acquisition of facts about government, but which, at the same time, generate disproportionately the desire "to best the other fellow," to strut one's abilities in learning. Studying a subject merely for the sake of approval and using any means to excel at it tends to defeat the ultimate objectives of education. Methods must be formulated in the light of their total effect and with a view to the development not merely of subject-matter information and skills, but also of all the types of educational outcomes—attitudes, interests, ideals, tastes, and concepts.

Certain implications follow:

1. Methods should involve more visual and concrete material, especially for those with less ability to deal with abstractions.
2. The avenues of approach to new topics of instruction should as far as possible be problems which lead into the topics.

3. Methods should allow liberally for opportunities to *do*, as well as to *learn*—construction, application, exemplification, illustration, expression of reactions.
4. Less emphasis should be placed upon learning for marks and scores on examinations, and more upon learning because it is useful and interesting.
5. Opportunity should be provided for cooperative work in learning—group projects, mutual assistance, etc.
6. The use of awards and artificial recognition should be discouraged, and great reliance placed in informal and unostentatious recognition by the instructor and fellow-students.
7. Reliance upon fear and compulsion is a constant temptation to the inferior, indifferent and unimaginative teacher, and should be supplanted by other means. It is a fair presumption that materials which cannot be otherwise motivated are not suitable or are improperly organized for presentation.
8. Regular annual comparison of schools, teachers, or abilities on the basis of scores on tests or contests should be avoided as not being conducive to the selection of materials and methods of instruction best adapted to the objectives of education.
9. Methods of instruction as applied to each individual in any given group of pupils should be adapted to allow for and to capitalize the peculiar interests, experiences, needs, home-environments, previous school records, and levels of ability of the individual pupils.

10. The practice of singling out the poorest students for especial publicity and discouragement by means of marks of "failure" should be abandoned in favor of more effective and less damaging means of encouraging student application.
11. Methods should be chosen so as to provide most effectively for the normal growth of a healthy, integrated personality involving initiative, self-confidence, cheerful disposition, sense of responsibility, good will toward others, and the avoidance of all situations making for complexes which produce abnormalities. This implies challenging tasks, personality adjustments of pupil and teacher, and at least a reasonable proportion of experiencing success.
12. Methods should be favored which permit the teacher to assume the role of an inspiring friend to youth, a guide and tutor, rather than an autocratic or unfriendly dictator, yet which at the same time do not depart from the necessary situation of the teacher as leader and the ultimate authority as to procedure.
13. Examinations and methods of discussion and recitation should be employed in such a way that they constitute aids to teaching and do not encourage the student to conceal his difficulties and ignorance.
14. Instructional efforts of the teacher should be employed much more than at present in the direction of guiding and stimulating the efforts of the student and in diagnosis and remedial help, and less in the direction of group oral testing of the daily progress made.

ORGANIZATION OF THE SCHOOLS

1. The control and direction of organizations supported by public funds for the education of the people of a given community should be vested in one board or representative council of boards. It should be the duty of this board to coordinate educational efforts publicly supported and to provide a comprehensive, unified program of education for all the people, as far as the locality is willing to support such a program, and as far as the welfare of the nation demands.

An adequate concept of the responsibility for planning, organizing and administering such a program of education for all the people of a community must be developed by the local superintendent of schools, or a new type of office—a Superintendency of Public Instruction, Libraries, and Recreation—must be created and filled with an individual capable of developing for each community the needed comprehensive program.

2. All the elementary and secondary schools from the nursery school through grades 13 and 14, or their equivalent in adult education, should be under one administration and supervision. Divisions should be organized for convenience rather than for distinct functions, and there should be gradual progression and integration throughout.

3. For the purposes of administration and supervision as well as for equalization of the support of public education, we should move rapidly toward the organization of all small school districts into units large enough to maintain a program of public education through the high school.

4. Consolidation for the purpose of establishing high schools or junior colleges should also be accompanied by consolidation of all the elementary school districts involved. Articulation and economy are restricted when ele-

mentary and secondary schools are not under the same administration or supervision. Separate junior colleges are uneconomical and encourage duplication of equipment and instructional materials. Where junior college education is provided, grades 11 through 14, the first four years after compulsory attendance should be organized as one unit rather than as two units of the school system.

5. No one division of the public school system into units suits all localities. There should be freedom to develop 8-4, 6-3-3, 6-4-4, 8-6, 6-6, or other types of horizontal organization involving not less than two nor more than four units. The decreasing birthrate now emptying many elementary school classrooms should enable many 6-3-3 schools to organize as 7-3-3 or 7-3-4 schools, and many 8-4 schools as 9-3 or 9-5 systems.

6. There should be a much closer articulation and interdependence between the public schools and other semi-educational agencies such as the 4-H Clubs, the Y.M.C.A., and Y.W.C.A., the Y.M.H.A., the Boy and Girl Scouts, the Catholic Youth Organization, the Catholic Girl Scouts, the De Molays, the Girl Reserves, and the Campfire Girls. At least a sufficient relationship should be developed to relieve the school administrator of his innocence concerning the educational activities of the other agencies and to furnish an orientation enabling him to correlate the efforts of the school and those of other agencies.

7. In the larger communities there should be provided special curricula adapted to the needs of youth who have completed the first twelve grades of school and who will not go to college. These courses need not and probably should not be organized with reference to the problem of receiving college credit for satisfactory completion.

8. Free secondary schools should be available for all youth within walking distance, and, for those more remote, free transportation between school and home should be provided.

9. As a means of extending opportunities for secondary education, and also to facilitate the guidance and extra-curricular programs of the schools, new buildings for secondary schools in the cities should be much smaller than those constructed in recent decades. They should rarely house more than 250 children to the grade in junior high schools, or more than 400 in senior high schools.

10. Small high schools with their limited possibilities in the way of curricular offerings, equipment, and housing facilities, their poorly paid and overloaded teachers, and other limitations characteristic of smaller schools, should be abandoned, and advanced students transported to centers where larger, richer, better equipped, and better staffed schools may be economically provided.

11. As a means of accomplishing several of the objectives mentioned above, and of others elsewhere mentioned, the small district unit of organization should be abandoned in favor of a much larger unit based upon the topography, highways, and natural commercial and cultural centers.

THE STAFF

Teachers in our secondary schools have at no time in our history been adequately prepared for the work of the schools in the light of their broadened objectives. Recent trends in teacher training, newer concepts of the functions of the school, and the greater heterogeneity of the secondary school population have widened the gap between ideals and prevailing conditions.

1. The education of teachers should center around larger fields than the departments of knowledge commonly made the unit for majors and minors in college and university. By way of illustration, the secondary school has no need for specialists in political science or European history; it does need broadly educated teachers of the social studies. The teacher of science should have some training in at least three or four, preferably five or six fields of science.

2. In addition to his subject-matter specialization, every high school teacher should be well grounded in the elementary phases of the more important branches of human knowledge, especially those which apply directly to the affairs of the world in which we live—science, economics, sociology, political science, literature, and at least the appreciative aspects of music and art. In other words, the teacher should be a person of broad general culture, and should have considerable knowledge and understanding of the conditions, trends, and problems of the scientific, political, aesthetic, vocational, social, and recreational world in which he and his pupils live.

3. In order to insure intelligent, constant readjustment of the school, the program of education of teachers should not fail to include a thorough study of the school as an institution, the philosophy of the objectives of education, and the school's relation to society and other institutions.

4. In light of the need for curriculum construction to meet new needs and new types of students, and in view of the increased importance attached to guidance and extra-curricular services, all prospective teachers should be given effective training for those responsibilities.

5. Because of the necessity for leadership in accelerating the readjustment of the secondary school, adequate provision should be made for *competent* supervision—chosen

not on the basis of seniority, but on the basis of training, personality, vision and probable ability to lead in that readjustment.

6. In training and in service there should be developed in teachers a faith in democracy as a way of life, in constant and orderly evolution, and in the schools as the most promising agency of society for readjusting its goals and institutions.

EXTRA-CURRICULAR SERVICE OF THE SCHOOL

It is pedantic to assume that opportunities for education are confined to formal instruction through the regular school curriculum. Broadened as the curriculum may become, there will always be available still further opportunities in less artificial and less logically organized activities, such as those of clubs, teams, and other student organizations, providing for the expression and development of interests and abilities not in the curriculum, and for student participation in the management and government of the school.

Within recent years blind worship of the printed page as the source of authority and the means of promoting learning has given way to a more rational and practical attitude, namely: *anything which will stimulate in a student an activity likely to direct future action, feeling or thinking in desired ways, constitutes effective materials and means of instruction.*

Student activities. As a consequence of recognition of the truth just stated, schools have begun to foster extra-curricular types of activities. It must be conceded, however, that the adaptation of these so as to make the maximum contribution to the objectives of education is yet in its embryonic stages. Those educators who have given most

thought to this type of educational activity are fairly well agreed that it is particularly effective for the boy or girl who does not respond well to the formal curricular program—the youth who prefers to “live” rather than to “learn.” Since this type of youth is heavily represented in the group just coming into the secondary school as a result of increased enrollments, and in the group yet to be provided for, an increased emphasis upon this approach to education is clearly indicated.

Some further suggestions for the organization of these activities seem worthy of mention:

1. The needs of all young people for participation in extra-curricular activities for educational purposes will be best served if the present emphasis toward the competitive aspects gives way to a program for all youth centered upon the educational outcomes rather than upon making a good showing in competition
2. Participation in extra-curricular activities should be made as universal among secondary school pupils as possible without compulsion, and should not be artificially conditioned by the quality of work done in the curricular phases of the school program. Opportunities should be available for all pupils who wish to participate, and should not be limited to teams or other selected groups.
3. The organization and management of all extra-curricular activities should be carefully planned in the light of their contribution to educational objectives. The gross looseness of thinking which has given extra-curricular activities blanket approval should be replaced by a very careful analysis look-

ing forward to the most effective adaptation of the activities of pupils to desired educational products.

Guidance. Originating from a similar philosophy are the possibilities for service open to teachers and administrators in assisting pupils in arriving at decisions relative to vocational and educational careers and in minimizing the unfortunate effects arising from unsatisfactory adjustments to other young people of the same age and opposite sex, to home conditions and conflicts, personal appearance, school citizenship, health worries, and other problems which frequently plague many young people unnecessarily, and so often disastrously. Not only are the problems of young people more complicated than they were a generation or so ago, but the school population available for guidance today comes in much larger proportions from homes of lower economic status, hence from homes where less dependence can be placed upon guidance from parents. In addition, in this country the world to be faced by youth today has changed very strikingly from the world his father and mother faced when they were young.

The schools should give increased attention to the complete realization of the possibilities of latent talent by early discovery and appropriate training of special and unusual abilities.

On the basis of our available knowledge of the psychology of youth and of our limited scientific knowledge of the most effective solutions of these various problems, the following principles are stated:

1. Guidance should be advisory and democratic. It should usually aim at directing youth to information and into types of approach which will

enable him to work out his own solutions. *The temptation to over-reach our possibilities by presuming to make decisions for young people or furnish pseudo-scientific short cuts to vocational and other decisions, must be carefully avoided.*

2. There should be developed and employed in guidance, better organized, more comprehensive records of all aspects of pupil abilities, achievements, interests, citizenship, qualities of personality, health, and home environment. These should be cumulative and should emphasize growth and changes as well as status.

3. Greater recognition of the importance of improving the quality of guidance should also be made, and more opportunities for rendering guidance services should be provided. More time and attention should be given to home-room programs, individual conferences, and group discussions of problems not directly attacked in the regular school subjects. Teachers should be appointed partly on the basis of their competence for guidance supervision, and those now in service should prepare themselves more adequately for guidance service.

4. In every school system, city or county, there should be one leader especially trained and charged with the leadership and training of teachers in guidance service.

THE FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF EDUCATION

Additional costs. To provide the types of educational programs outlined in the previous discussion is certain to increase the expenditures for public education—so much

so that many will no doubt question our ability to afford it. In the first place, to provide all youth up to the age of 18 with educational service as given today would increase high school enrollments in grades 9 through 12 from the six million now in secondary schools to approximately ten million, and would add to the two billion dollars now being spent through governmental agencies for the support of education another half billion.* One hundred and fifty to two hundred million dollars more would be required, should a million of the eight and a half million youth of ages 19 through 22 not now in school be included in an educational program approximately as expensive as a junior college education today. Should the health service be developed so as to provide a medical and dental inspection every year for every child between the age of 6 and 20, a more thorough examination to one child in ten every year, immunization as often as may be needed, medical and psychiatric advice in problem cases, some medical care and dental service in more pressing cases in which the parents are unable to bear the costs, and the employment of school nurses, another one hundred and fifty to two hundred million dollars would be added.† Still another fifty to seventy-five million would be required to extend recreational facilities and services. To cover costs of expansion of the school program in the direction of restoration and increases in salaries and improved housing and equipment in communities where these are now very inadequate—a further one hundred and fifty to two hun-

* This assumes that the per pupil cost of secondary education is approximately \$125 a year, as compared to \$90 a year for all the 25,700,000 school children in 1930, four-fifths of whom were in the elementary school. These estimates are only rough approximations.

† This assumes a cost of approximately \$10 per pupil, as compared to something like \$2 a year now being expended.

dred million dollars annually would be needed. The total annual expenditures for public education would then exceed three billion dollars, and with increasing prices possibly might reach three and a half billion dollars.

If, however, one half of the seven million youth beyond 16 who could be expected to attend school at all were to attend school on half time only, the costs for public education would probably be reduced by approximately \$100,000,000 to \$125,000,000.

In making these estimates of increased costs of the extended program of secondary education, the effort was made to overestimate rather than to underestimate. Costs may increase in terms of dollars and cents with a decrease in the purchasing power of the dollar, but if so, national wealth and income, similarly expressed, are almost certain to increase in proportional amounts. The number of young people between the ages of 6 and 20 is not likely ever to be greater than the thirty-two or three million contemplated. As a matter of fact, the decreasing birth rate has for more than a decade more than offset population increase attributable to immigration. Beginning about 1940, we will have fewer rather than more children to provide for, while, at the same time, the decreasing death rate of adults is operating to increase further the ratio of adults to children. As a consequence, by 1950 or 1960, the number of adults upon whom the burden of supporting the education of each 100 pupils will fall will have doubled since 1900, just as in 1900 it had doubled in the previous 70 years.

Can we afford it? The practical question is whether we can afford to add another billion dollars to the two and a quarter billion dollars now being spent on public education annually. It seems certain that if we merely drift with

present trends, an increase of one half or three quarters of a billion dollars in expenditures for public education will take place any way as a result of increased enrollments, needed additional housing, and the restoration of salaries and temporarily discontinued departments.

There are two approaches to the problem. In one of these, the thinking is done in terms of dollars and cents, the *symbol* of wealth. In the other, *real* wealth, or goods and services, is the basis of thinking. Certain considerations should be examined, no matter which approach we employ—namely, the effect upon other aspects of economic life of spending a further billion dollars upon public education. To provide educational facilities for five million more youth would probably require the services of from two hundred to two hundred and fifty thousand additional teachers alone, as well as janitors, care-takers, bus drivers, etc. Indirectly it would give employment to many thousand employees of concerns manufacturing and selling textbooks and school and playground equipment. In the construction of needed new school buildings, some sixty to eighty thousand workers would be given employment for a ten-year period.

It is a mistake to regard the increased cost of an expanded educational program as new and additional expenditures, but rather, though partly of that type, more largely as a shift from one kind of expenditure to another. The additional three to four hundred thousand workers given employment would in large part include those for whom it now appears necessary to provide public work of less permanent value. The cost of providing food, shelter, clothing and some medical service for all who live within our borders is one which the nation has chosen to bear. The real additional cost to society of an extended educational program

can be no greater, therefore, than the excess of the total expenditures over the cost of providing food, shelter, clothing and medical service for all the full-time workers in any way associated with education. The total of such workers should, of course, include all those engaged in obtaining and processing the raw materials required.

In addition, it is certain that these workers in the schools and in the contributing businesses and industries would render a more willing and effective service, dollar for dollar, than is characteristic of the public-works employee. In sum, the necessary increased school expenditures are not entirely additional, but are substituted for expenditures in other areas. Their object is a uniquely permanent one and they will be made under conditions peculiarly conducive to honest and economical administration.

Three billion dollars, the estimated cost of the extended program of public and private secondary and higher education, constitutes between five and six per cent of our national annual income, estimated in 1936 to be between fifty and sixty billion dollars,* and probably destined within a few years to surpass its previous peak of almost ninety billion dollars.† It is approximately two-fifths of the total tax levies, estimated to be about eight billion dollars. It seems certain, in view of the experiences of leading European countries, that it is possible, should we so wish, to increase tax collections materially without serious danger. In 1928, tax revenues in the United States constituted 10 per cent of our income. In Great Britain they were 25 per cent of the total income, in France 16.1 per cent, in

* These estimates are based on data furnished by the National Bureau of Economic Research and the National Industrial Conference Board.

† There are those who believe there is every reason to expect the national income within the next decade or two to exceed a hundred billion dollars.

Italy 19.2 per cent, and in Germany 13.6 per cent. The percentages in the three latter countries are much greater today.*

As compared to expenditures in other fields, the total of three billion dollars for public education does not seem excessive. More than ten billion dollars are spent annually for passenger automobiles. In 1928, the people spent two and one-half times as much for candy, chewing gum, tobacco and amusements as they did for education, and the amount spent annually for armament and other phases of past and future warfare averages close to a billion and a half dollars.† In 1935, the Federal tax collections on tobacco, wines, spirits and liquors alone were almost a billion dollars,‡ indicating a retail cost of nearly the amount contemplated for the proposed program of education. In 1934 our people spent a billion and a quarter dollars on soft drinks, candy and chewing gum, and as much more on tobacco. Expenditures in these types of luxuries alone cost more than all education, public and private, in the United States.

In approaching the question of whether or not we can afford the proposed educational program, we should not view it merely in terms of dollars and cents. A simpler and more direct approach is to deal with costs in terms of

* The figures are quoted from *Facts on School Costs*, Research Bulletin of the National Education Association, November, 1932, and are based upon data found in Moulton, Harold G., and Ko, Junicki, *Japan: An Economic and Financial Appraisal*, National Bureau of Economic Research, National Industrial Conference Board, U. S. Department of Commerce, *Statesmen's Yearbook*, 1930; and Comstock, Alzade, *Taxation in the Modern State*.

† *Facts on School Costs*, Research Bulletin of the National Education Association, November, 1932, p. 222, 214.

‡ *Internal Revenue Collections, Fiscal Year 1935*. U. S. Treasury Department, Bureau of Internal Revenue.

men and materials. In other words, the problem really is whether we can spare the services of the materials necessary for the extended program. Roughly, they may be estimated as follows:

Human resources.

- 250,000 teachers and administrators (one half women)
- 30,000 janitors, engineers and clerks
- 10,000 physicians and dentists
- 50,000 school nurses
- 70,000 workers in building construction, books and school equipment and supply manufacture.

Material resources.

Housing and equipment for five million children and youth.

It does not seem probable that the 400,000 men and women, and the materials necessary for extended services and the education of 5,000,000 more youth than are in school today cannot be spared by American society. There are already at least 200,000 unemployed teachers. The professions of medicine and nursing can, as we have data to prove, furnish at least as many as are required, and the 100,000 other workers can certainly be spared from the ranks of the millions on relief or on made work. With respect to raw materials, one cannot be so exact, yet no one would doubt that the resources in these fields cannot be drawn upon in times of peace for education, without jeopardizing other needs. Inasmuch as the products of PWA and WPA must by this time have placed us in pretty good shape with regard to public works, materials for these programs will not be used in such large quantities as in the past three or four years. An answer to the question must also turn on what we propose to do with several million youth until such time as they may be absorbed into vocational life. It must also be answered with full recogni-

tion of the effects of alternative programs upon the morale and citizenship of youth, and the predisposition to crime resulting from lack of something worthwhile to do.

Federal participation in school support. What we can afford as a nation, and what each state can afford for itself, are two entirely different things. It seems evident that as a nation we can afford an improved and extended program for the education of youth, yet today there are states which can afford no more than a very mediocre schooling for a much smaller proportion of youth than is served by the nation as a whole. The estimated annual income per school child in 1934 in Georgia was \$857, in Mississippi \$495, in Alabama \$773, in South Carolina \$752, in Arkansas \$736, and in South Dakota \$972. In the same year in New York the income per child enrolled in school was \$3,766, in Massachusetts \$3,014, in California \$3,088, and in Rhode Island \$2,942, and for the nation as a whole it was \$1,898.* The discrepancies would be still greater if computed on the basis of all children between the ages of 6 and 18 instead of on the basis of those actually enrolled in school. These differences possess greater significance when viewed in light of the fact that expenditures for education must be secondary to those for food, shelter, fuel and clothing.

In other words, if from the total income of each state there is deducted an amount requisite for living necessities and other expenditures which must be taken care of before expenditure for education can be considered, and the remainder divided by the number of children to be educated, the ratio of income available in New York to that in Georgia is materially larger. In New York the amount spent for education per child of school age in 1930 was

* These data are from *Financing Education*, Research Bulletin of the National Education Association, Vol. XV, No. 1, January, 1937, Washington, D.S.

\$118. If a similar sum were spent for education for each child in Georgia, the total cost would be more than \$115,000,000 instead of the \$22,677,000 actually spent in 1930. It would exceed by more than \$20,000,000 the total tax collections in that state by Federal, state, and local agencies for all purposes. It would be more than ten per cent of the total income of the state, as compared to the three and one-third per cent actually spent for education in 1930 by the nation as a whole.

In Georgia the expenditure per child in average daily attendance in 1933-34 was \$28.34, in Arkansas \$22.60, in North Carolina \$24.18, in South Carolina \$27.14, in Mississippi \$23.55, and in Alabama \$30.09. In New York it was \$124.13, in Nevada \$117.90, in New Jersey \$102.53, in California \$109.85, and in the District of Columbia \$107.30. In the United States as a whole it was \$67.48.

It is obvious that the states vary so widely in their abilities to finance programs of education as to make it impossible for some states to support programs which can be financed with ease by others. It is equally obvious that in addition to the need for a program expended to reach all youth, the Southern states at least are faced with the impossibility of improving materially either the quality of education now provided, or the number served, without saddling themselves with tax burdens so heavy as to seriously impede their economic development. If those states are to participate in the benefits of an extended and expanded program, they can do so only by means of aid from other states.

The disparities between the states can be matched with disparities between local districts within the states in all sections of the country, and the conclusions drawn with reference to them are the same.

The question then is clearly whether the support of public education is a state responsibility, or, at least in part, one of national concern. In many states the inability of various localities to provide adequate education for its youth has become evident, and the principle of larger state support recognized and implemented by appropriate statutes and appropriations. In nine states the proportion of state support has been increased to thirty per cent or more, and in one state to more than eighty-five per cent. This trend has gained momentum in recent years and the adjustment arrived at is attributable to two causes: (1) the growing concentration of wealth in the cities, and (2) the increasing cost of public education. It is inevitable that even with state equalization, either educational facilities must vary widely from state to state, or Federal participation in support of education must be forthcoming.

The theory that the resources of the nation should be made the basis of the support of education has much in its favor. In the first place, the benefits of public education are not confined to the state or locality. The material, as well as the cultural welfare of the nation, is conditioned by the education of people in all the states. Productive efficiency the world over is in close correlation with the level of education of the masses, and markets are similarly affected. The geography of wealth should not be made the measure of its usefulness. If it is just and logical to tax on the basis of ability to pay, there seems no sound reason for limiting the benefits of such taxation to the area in which the owners of wealth happen to reside, rather than to all the areas from which the wealth derives.

The boy or girl of Louisiana or of New Mexico is a future citizen of the United States in as full a sense as the boy or girl of California or of New York. Uneducated they

constitute collectively an invitation to demagogues and a menace to democracy and progress. Their health and general physical efficiency are of national as well as local concern in times of peace as well as in times of war. The mobility of the inhabitants of this country contributes to the national responsibility for education.

The thinking and the investigations of students of educational organization and finance lead almost invariably and inevitably to the conclusion that there should be a material Federal participation in the support of public education, especially if this can be attained without Federal control. The need for increased facilities for larger numbers as a result of the unemployment of youth, and the need for increased training for intelligent citizenship, accelerate an already growing conviction.

The question of Federal control. Is Federal support without Federal control desirable or possible? In the Smith-Hughes and similar provisions for Federal subsidies to education, Federal agencies have set up standards contingent upon which the Federal funds were granted. This principle is seriously questioned by many mature students of public education. To them, the dangers of subjecting Federal support to conditions determined by an agency of the national government seem real and great. It is not appropriate to devote much space here to a discussion of the arguments against Federal control of education, but the more important of them center around the following:

1. The differences in suitability of any program of education for various localities and conditions.
2. The need for that freedom and flexibility of local authorities for experimentation out of which programs grow.

3. The importance of maintaining a local interest and pride in local schools.
4. The dangers inherent in control of the school curriculum by a Federal government operated by representatives of a political party.

The distribution of Federal funds on the basis of the type of curriculum of the local schools constitutes an unusually grave danger, inviting as it does programs of propaganda and indirect but effective interference with the freedom of educators and parents to determine what shall be taught in the schools. Though the Smith-Hughes Act stimulated developments probably of more benefit than harm, it is clear that its effects in fields other than vocational, particularly those related to political and economic problems, would be favorable to the development of situations similar to those existing today in the schools of Germany, Russia and Italy, where a particular political party and philosophy are maintained at the expense of a free school and of the subsequent facilities for self-criticism so essential to progress and efficiency.

It would seem wise to distribute Federal aid for education to the various states according to their needs, on the basis of the number of children to be educated and the respective inability of the several states to finance an adequate educational program, and without respect to the nature of the education provided.

VII.

BASIC THESES AND PROPOSALS

A. BASIC PREMISES AND DEFINITIONS

- I. An evolutionary democracy is to continue to be the philosophy and form of government of the American people.
- II. The success of democratic processes is conditioned primarily by the sound information, cooperative habits, and democratic ideals and attitudes of all the members of society.
- III. The trends of social changes in many fields emphasize the increasingly complex interdependence of individuals and institutions and the consequently greater need for education, particularly of a social nature.
- IV. Scientific, technological, and commercial advances have within recent decades made it possible to free from other productive enterprises for the purposes of education a markedly increased proportion of youth and teachers.
- V. Secondary education is to be thought of as that stage of formal education extending from the study of the basic tools of learning, involving the first five or six years of schooling, to the period of specialization at university or college in professional or subject-matter fields.
- VI. Increases in secondary school enrollments have significantly expanded the range of capacities, interests, and needs of pupils in the schools, and universal secondary education will further increase the heterogeneity of the pupil body.

- VII. The school is an institution maintained by society for its own stabilization and direction, and for the personal gains of its individual members. Public support of education by taxation demands that society's stake in the enterprise be adequately recognized.
- VIII. To be most effective, the program of the school must be adapted not only to the needs of society and of individuals, but also to the personal needs of individuals as they conceive them to be.
- IX. The school is a supplementary institution and must adjust its objectives and programs to the shifts and changes in other institutions—the home, industry, the press, the church, and to all aspects of society.
- X. Major changes in home life, vocational techniques, government, transportation, means of communication, city life, recreational and amusement opportunities, influences of religion and the church, business and industrial organization and techniques have (a) seriously affected the type and direction of education needed for life today, and (b) definitely reduced the educational contributions of institutions other than schools.
- XI. The flexibility and opportunities for progressive evolution afforded by a democratic society will permit the reorganization of secondary school programs so as to be better adapted to current needs and the new pupil constituency.
- XII. Education involves the acquisition of information, skills, habits, ideals, attitudes, concepts and tastes, and is not to be thought of merely as acquiring "Knowledge."

- XIII. The history of American secondary education indicates that the courses of study now found in secondary schools were largely developed for a selected minority of the youth of high school age, dominated by the purpose of preparation for college rather than for life, and justified to a large degree on the basis of a theory of transfer of training no longer tenable.
- XIV. The recreational life of the people of this country is an important factor in the well-being of society. In the interests of citizenship, health, and reduced costs to society, it challenges civic efforts to aid by public subsidy the development of satisfying and wholesome recreational programs for youth at least, if not for all the people.
- XV. The chief needs of youth are as follows:
- a. social acceptance and approval, particularly by his fellows;
 - b. admission at will after the age of 16, at least upon a part-time basis, and at the age of 20 upon a full-time basis, to the vocational activities of the times and to participation in the responsibilities and joys of marriage and home-making;
 - c. assurance of political efficiency, stability, and justice;
 - d. opportunities for recreational and social activities;
 - e. assistance in tackling the mental and emotional conflicts and problems of life; and
 - f. assurance of health and attractive appearance and personality.
- XVI. It is not wise or fair to postpone the induction—

even if only in a limited way—of youth into the normal vocational and civic responsibilities of adults.

- XVII. It is not wise to cause the postponement of marriage and the establishment of homes beyond the early twenties.
- XVIII. Where essential services cannot be made available to all youth except by group enterprises, there is no fundamental fallacy in the extension of government activities in those directions, as has been done in the instances of the public school, parcel post, highways, public defense, public parks, playgrounds, libraries, and art and music centers.

B. BASIC PROPOSITIONS FOR THE RE-DIRECTION OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS

- I. All youth should be engaged in educational activities on full time until the age of 16, and *at least half time* thereafter until the age of 20 or 21. Except for a minority of young people, it is probably not wise to defer all active participation in the fields of adult activities more than two to four years beyond physiological maturity, and it is questionable whether educational institutions can completely meet the needs of more than half the nation's youth so as to warrant full-time attendance beyond the age of 16 or 17.
- II. The secondary school should formulate its programs upon an analysis of what information, habits, skills, attitudes, etc., are necessary for successful participation in those activities in which all adults of their generation are likely to participate.

- III. The program of every secondary school should therefore be well balanced and aimed definitely at the maximum contribution to the following objectives:
- a. loyal, intelligent citizenship, and morality in the broad sense of the word;
 - b. effective home membership and leadership;
 - c. the abilities and tastes which insure pleasurable and harmless employment of leisure time;
 - d. the maximum development of abilities and interests in the best suited vocational activities;
 - e. physical health;
 - f. the development of the most healthy and satisfying personality and mind; and
 - g. the development of interests and abilities insuring continued learning through life.
- IV. The curriculum of the secondary school must give much less emphasis to the more purely intellectual and college-preparatory objectives and subjects, and much more time to subjects and aspects of subjects more closely allied to the problems of individuals as citizens, home-makers, workers, consumers of goods, and participants in leisure activities.
- V. For the purpose of providing educational facilities best adapted to the needs of youth and of society, no single standard curriculum or plan of organization may be labelled superior to all others. Those plans developed as local responses to national vision of needs, and as voluntary responses to leadership, are likely to be most effective.
- VI. There must be developed and employed not only alternative curricula but also alternative courses of

study in each of the main fields of learning—science, mathematics, English, and social studies—so that differences in interests and abilities among youth will not render the educational program ineffective for a large proportion of them.

- VII. More attention must be given to education for vocation, and the type of vocational education provided should be such as will be effective even if the individual does not follow his present specific vocational intention, and if technological developments modify the vocational processes and consequently the skills required.
- VIII. Economy of operation, as well as our theories of democracy, demand that before public educational agencies or schools for different groups of students are established, every effort be made to organize effectively the public educational program around a single school system composed of comprehensive schools for all children of the appropriate ages. By this it is meant that separate schools, organizations or institutions outside the general public school system should not be set up until it is clear that the desired functions of formal public education for all groups cannot be expected from a single school system. In addition efforts should be made to discourage the overlapping jurisdiction of elementary and secondary school districts with separate boards, and separate administration and supervision, and all the duplication and lack of flexibility.
- IX. The concept of what the school can and ought to do for youth must be broadened to include many functions not traditionally thought of as "school-

ing," and this broadened concept must be made a part of the thinking of the American people. Emphasis must be placed on supplementary medical and dental services, the development of character and personality, guidance services and the recreational and extra-curricula possibilities for education.

- X. In the light of the needs of the times in our industrial democracy, much more time should be given to the teaching of the social studies—economics, geography, sociology and political science—which should be taught in every year of the secondary schools and required of all pupils. The social aspects and implications of materials in other fields should be more systematically and effectively taught.
- XI. The American people need to develop a plan for the coordination and mutual inter-orientation of various public and independent educational agencies in the service of youth, such as city, county and state councils and conferences involving such agencies as the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., Sunday Schools, Boy and Girl Scouts, Girl Reserves, the C.Y.O., denominational schools and playground organizations.
- XII. All proposals for the readjustment of educational facilities and increased enrollments must be considered in the light of probable costs and the effects upon unemployment and volume of business. They should also be studied from the viewpoint of reductions in other types of expenditures, such as those for the prevention of crime and the punishment of criminals, as well as the increased

effectiveness of workers attributable to increased and re-directed education.

XIII. These proposals imply:

- a. A program looking forward eventually to the unification of units of secondary education, including particularly the absorption of grades 13 and 14 now unwisely attached, at unnecessary expense, to college and universities, or existing as detached and uncorrelated two-year units known as junior colleges;
- b. changes in the programs of education of high school teachers which will insure that the high schools are staffed with broadly educated individuals familiar, at least through the printed page, with the world for which they are preparing their charges;
- c. changes in the certification and conditions of employment and remuneration of teachers which will insure a much higher percentage beyond the stage of novitiates;
- d. subsidized experiments or demonstrations adequately publicized, which will call attention to the need for a sweeping revision of the school curriculum, and the lack of time and imagination to build new programs, of teachers now in service.

XIV. Methods of instruction to be employed in classes of youth of the type not now in school should be less bookish and artificial, more concrete and informal, should require more physical activity, and should attempt to take on something of the spirit of real life situations.

- XV. Education is of vital *national* concern and, consequently, upon the resources of the nation rather than upon those of the locality, the eventual burden of educational support must fall. The needs for education have nothing to do with the ability of states to support educational programs. It has been demonstrated that average programs of secondary education cannot be locally financed in a number of less fortunate states and by at least a few localities in practically every state. In view of these great variations among states and within states in ability to support education, it is necessary that national subsidies be given for that purpose, and that state funds be employed to equalize in part the burdens of school support among the districts of the states.
- XVI. The necessity for local initiative and sense of responsibility, the differences in programs suitable for different communities, and the prejudices of a democratic people make it clear that Federal control of education would be unwise and unpopular.
- XVII. The needs for an extended and revised program for the education of youth have expanded more rapidly within recent decades than will be taken care of by the readjustments which may normally result in an enterprise so unwieldy and dependent upon so many divergent factors as the public school. It seems imperative, therefore, that some body of laymen and educators who enjoy national prominence and the confidence of the people must stress quite definitely the need for sharp accelera-

tion of the normal evolutionary progress of the schools, and must indicate, within broad outlines, the direction the reform should take.

C. PROPOSALS FOR EXPERIMENTAL STUDIES

The schools we now have are not adapted to the needs of a great mass of non-scholarly youth, some in school, others idle, and many at work who should be devoting at least part of their time to education. Our present schools were never intended for this class of youth. They are too bookish, too intellectual, too impersonal, too far removed from problems of life, too difficult, and they provide too meagerly for the satisfaction of the desire for life-like experience. It is also clear that the college preparatory and "high-brow" cultural and leisure training is suited to neither the needs nor the interests of this type of youth who formerly were eliminated or went to work upon reaching the compulsory age limit. The written and printed approach, and other methods of teaching characteristic of the typical high school are of doubtful value to this class of young people.

We have had some experience with certain types of educational institutions which seem better adapted to the youth not now adequately provided for. It seems desirable that these variations be investigated and reported upon by some authoritative group and that experimental demonstrations be made of still other modified programs which involve new concepts or principles, or new relative emphases upon different principles or procedures. Among them may be mentioned:

- I. Part-time cooperative schools, providing concomitantly on approximately half-time each, work and

life experience, and education for citizenship, home life, health, and vocation.

- II. Short term schools, such as the Minnesota Schools of Agriculture for youth not high school graduates;
- III. Modified versions of the Danish "folk" or "people's" high schools;
- IV. Revised versions of the CCC camps, organized under the direction of local boards and devoting half time to community service and half time to education;
- V. Reorganized college programs intended for less scholarly youth, such as the General College of the University of Minnesota, the C.W.E.S. Colleges in Chicago, and the Emergency Colleges in Michigan;
- VI. Terminal four-year junior colleges with vocational and citizenship curricula.
- VII. Vocational schools of approximately junior college grade, similar to those in the state of New York under the supervision of the Regents of the University of New York;
- VIII. Central or consolidated schools in rural areas which make available to the youth of such areas a program of education, recreation and guidance distinctly superior to that possible under most present plans of organization.

To be of most value, studies of one or more institutions of each of these types should be made in order to insure that the plan actually carried through is a worthy one and that there will be opportunities for testing it under such

conditions as will reduce to a minimum the possibility of inconclusiveness.

The critical aspect of any of these experiments is the degree to which the curriculum is revised to fit the needs of the particular group of students. It is a certainty that this will be done only under conditions not likely to be found in the natural set-ups under which these types of schools are ordinarily carried on. Teachers and administrators in these schools frequently cannot, unaided and undirected, develop courses of study very different from the traditional patterns. They rarely have had either the training or experience for experimental work, and they very frequently lack the imagination and originality necessary for it. Even more rarely are they provided with sufficient time to construct courses of study. Textbooks for such courses are not available, and the construction of new study courses is not an undertaking which may be done effectively in a few weeks or along with a full-time teaching schedule.

For these reasons, certain fixed policies, to be departed from only in detail, seem to be necessary for the purpose of insuring the objectives sought in such experiments or demonstrations.

1. The general plan of organization, administration, and curricula should be agreed upon and approved by representatives of the American Youth Commission or other group or agency initiating the study or experiment.

2. The group should furnish aid making possible adequate courses of study, and should insist on having a part in their development, and final approval prior to further expenditures.

3. The group and the authorities in charge of the project should agree upon a plan of evaluating the experiment.

Full cooperation and opportunity to carry the plan to completion should be guaranteed.

The group might also render valuable service to youth and to society in general if it would make and publicize pronouncements aimed at the re-direction of secondary education in the light of modern conditions and trends and of the needs of present day youth. The great importance traditionally attached by teachers to the views on education of successful men and women in other lines makes it possible for groups such as the American Youth Commission, for whom this report was prepared, to be of great influence in enlarging the vision of a profession handicapped by the unwieldiness of the school system.

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